PAURĀṆIC AND TĀNTRIC RELIGION

By

J. N. BANERJEA

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN
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J. N. BANERJEA

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PREFACE

Prolonged studies in several branches of Indology, specially Hindu Iconography, made me take a great deal of interest in Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion. During my long years of service in the University of Calcutta and since my retirement in 1959, I have been writing on different aspects of the subject and also published a monograph entitled *Pañchopāsanā* (Bengali) in 1960. Sometime after my retirement, I was granted by the University Grants Commission stipendiary research professorship for a little more than four years and was attached to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the University.

Professor N. R. Ray, the then Head of the Department and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, kindly requested me, in July 1964, to deliver a course of six lectures on a subject of my choice. I chose the early phase of Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion and prepared my lectures cultwise with an introductory discussion on the evolution of the religious systems. The lectures were delivered at the Centre in April, 1965.

I fell seriously ill in the course of delivering the lectures and, due to protracted illness and failing eye-sight, could not be of any help in the matter of their publication. My successor in the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture and the present Head of the Department and Director of the Centre, Professor D. C. Sircar, very kindly came to my aid. It is he and his assistants at the Centre who saw the book through the press. Dr. Satya Ranjan Banerjee and others kindly prepared its index under Professor Sircar's direction. I am exceedingly thankful to all of them. The lectures could not have been brought out in such a short period of time had not Professor Sircar directed part of his dynamic energy to their publication. The Pooran Press should also be thanked for their kind co-operation in this matter.

CALCUTTA,
March 1, 1966.

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March 1, 1966.   J. N. BANERJEA

J. N. BANERJEA, 1895-1966

The world of Indologists has been poorer by the sad demise of Dr. Jitendranāth Banerjea (Vandyopādhyāya) on the 12th of May 1966. In the field of Indological studies, Jitendranāth was regarded as a great specialist in the Brahmanical religious systems and iconology as well as in Indian numismatics, and his disappearance from the field has created a void which shows no prospect of being filled up in many years.

Jitendranāth belonged to a respectable Kulīna Brāhmaṇa family of the village of Śikhirā in the Hooghly District of West Bengal. He was born at Meerut in U.P on the 16th of August, 1895. He passed the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University in 1912 from the Mahārājā's High School at Kālnā in the Burdwan District of West Bengal, and four years later graduated, with First Class Honours in History, from the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta. In 1918, Jitendranāth obtained the M.A. degree of Calcutta University in History and was placed in the First Class. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the same University in 1942 on his thesis entitled *Studies in the Development of Hindu Iconography*.

Soon after he had obtained the Master's degree, the far-sighted educationist Asutosh Mookerjee recruited young Jitendranāth for the newly functioning Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta as Assistant to the then Carmichael Professor, D. R. Bhandarkar. And from 1918 he continuously served his *alma mater* till his retirement in August 1959 after 41 long years. Sometime after his appointment at the University, Jitendranāth was promoted to the post of Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Inlian History and Culture and finally occupied the Chair of the Carmichael Professor from July 1952 to August 1959. In 1958, Jitendranāth was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts and was also nominated Vice-President of the University College of Arts. On the occasion of his retirement from Calcutta University in 1959, Jitendranāth's friends and pupils presented him with a *Frestschrift* entitled *J. N. Banerjea Volume* (Calcutta, 1960).

Jitendranāth's *magnum opus* is the *Development of Hindu Iconography* which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1941, a revised second edition of it appearing fifteen years later in 1956. This work on Brahmanical iconology is of outstanding merit and is not likely to be antiquated or superceded in the near future. His Bengali work entitled *Pañcopāsanā*, published in 1960 and dealing with the five popular Brahmanical religious systems (Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura and Gāṇapatya), was awarded the Rabindra Prize by the Government of West Bengal. He contributed a number of papers to learned priodicals and also some chapters to such publications as the Dacca University's *History of Bengal*, the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* and the Indian History Congress' *Comprehensive History of India*.

Jitendranāth's reputation as a front-rank Indologist brought him many other laurels. He was elected in 1950 an Ordinary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, which institution he ably served as Historical and Archaeological Secretary in 1954-1955 and from 1961 to 1964 and as General Secretary from 1956 to 1959. He was the recipient of the Society's B.C. Law Gold Medal for the year 1961. Jitendranāth was Correspondent [for life] of the Archaeological Survey of India, a Corresponding Member [from India] of the Commission Internationale pour une Histoire du Development Scientifique et Culturel de l'Humanité of the UNESCO and a Charter Member of the International University Foundation of New York, U.S.A. He presided over the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress at its Patna Session in 1946, the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Cuttack in 1949 and the History Section of the Nikhil Bhārat Baṅga Sāhitya Sammelan at its Lucknow Session in 1954. The Indian History Congress honoured Jitendranāth by electing him General President for its Allahabad Session in 1965. Unfortunately he could not attend the session of the Congress owing to failing health. His Presidential address, read out at the Congress, contains some interesting personal reminiscences.

After his retirement, Jitendranāth enjoyed for some time the U.G.C.'s research stipend meant for retired teachers and delivered a course of lectures each at the Universities of Lucknow and Calcutta respectively in 1962 and 1965. In his Dr. R. K. Mookerji Endowment Lectures at Lucknow University, he dealt with the light thrown by archaeological data on the development of religious systems like the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva. In April 1965, Jitendranāth delivered six lectures on *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion* at our Centre of Advanced Study and presided over the seminars on *Indian Mother-goddess* and *Iconography of Tārā* organised by the Centre on the same occasion. Unfortunately he fell ill before the conclusion of the lectures and seminars.

As a man, Jitendranāth's character was marked by sweetness of behaviour and mildness of temperament. He was a perfect gentleman, absolutely unassuming and unostentatious.

The author of these lines attended Jitendranāth's lectures on Indian Numismatics in the Post-Graduate classes as a student of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, in 1929-31. When therefore Jitendranāth became incapacitated, by illness and failing eye-sight, to see his lectures on *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion* through the press and the burden fell upon the shoulders of this pupil of his, the latter undertook the task gladly thinking it to be a sort of indirect payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā*, howsoever little and insignificant. It is however a great disappointment to him that Jitendranāth passed away when the last few pages of the work were being printed off.

Jitendranāth Banerjea is no more in the land of the living; but he will live for many years to come in the memory of the readers of his learned works, especially his *Development of Hindu Iconography*.

Centre of Advanced Study,
Department of Ancient Indian History
and Culture, Calcutta University,
May 15, 1966.

D. C. SIRCAR
Director

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LECTURE I

BACKGROUND OF PAURĀṆIC AND TĀNTRIC RELIGION

INTRODUCTION : VEDIC RELIGION

The religions of ancient India in their association with the major part of her people, conveniently described by the name of Hindu, have been classified by Monier-Williams under three different heads—Vedism, Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism. This classification is undoubtedly historical in character and in a way evolutionary. In the beginning of the historic period, the Aryans settled in parts of north-western and northern India evolved a kind of ritualistic religion in which primarily many forces of the nature, such as sun, fire, wind, limitless atmosphere, rain accompanied by thunder and lightening, etc., were venerated with the ceremonial singing of hymns and offering of sacrifices of food, meat and drink (especially of the juice of the intoxicating Soma plant) to the accompaniment of the muttering of proper *mantras*. These oblations meant for them were poured into the fire ignited on variously shaped altars, and thus Fire (Agni) served the important purpose of carrying the offerings to the respective Vedic deities, and so two of its synonyms were *hutavaha* and *havyavāhana*. Agni was thus the principal functionary in this ritualistic religion, and was held in the highest respect by the sacrificing priests, the Ṛishis of the Vedic times. The *mantras* or the hymns (*sūktas*) which were muttered and occasionally sung by them were supposed to have been 'seen' and not 'composed'. The Vedic seers were held in high esteem and veneration by the Indo-Aryans, especially their upper section. The sacrifices (*yajña*) were performed in honour of various gods with particular ends in view, for the fulfilment of many specific desires for wealth and enjoyment. The followers of this sort of worldly religion with belief in many gods have been thus deprecated in the *Bhagavadgītā* in no uncertain terms :—

> *Kāmātmānaḥ svargaparā janmakarmaphalapradām* |
> *kriyāviśeshabahulāṁ bhogaiśvaryagatiṁ prati* || (II. 43)

> "Their soul is all desire, their goal is heaven, their speech gives birth as fruit of work, and prescribes many varied rites that lead to joys and lordship."

But, as will be shown later, there are hymns in the *Ṛigveda* where the oneness of the supreme entity known by different names is emphasised.

PRE-VEDIC RELIGION

This kind of religion, the ideas about which we mainly get from the *Ṛigveda* and the other early Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, was, however, not the only religion practised by the vast mass of the people of India. It was principally practised no doubt by the higher section of the Indo-Aryans; but the lower section of them, and specially the large number of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the country, appear to have been believers in different kinds of religion. We hardly possess any explicit literary sources of the ancient period, which would help us to have a clear concept about the religious practices of this large section of the people. The *Atharvaveda*, at first not regarded strictly as one of the Vedas (the *Ṛik*, *Sāman and Yajus* were according to the earlier estimates of the orthodox people the *Traividyā*) seems to contain implicit and incidental accounts of their religious beliefs and activities; but they are mixed up and obscure. Certain epithets and passages in the *Ṛigveda*, also very difficult of definite and correct interpretation, probably contain references to such practices which were undoubtedly deprecated by the Vedic Aryans. The opprobrious terms *rākshasa, yātu, yātudhāna, anāsa, mūradeva, śiśnadeva*, etc., found in the *Ṛigveda*, have been used by the hymnists to denote most probably the pre-Aryan settlers of India. The last in the list explained by Sāyaṇa as sensual people may, however, denote 'those who were phallus-worshippers'. This interpretation by many modern scholars appears to have been endorsed by the discovery of a number of phallic symbols in the early Indus Valley sites. These objects as well as many ring-stones found there have been regarded by Marshall and many other scholars after him as the symbols for the mother and father aspects of the divinity worshipped by the pre-Aryan settlers of these localities. The term *mūradeva,* explained by Sāyaṇa as 'the Rākshasas engaged in destructive actions' (*māraṇakrīḍāvyāpārān rākshasān*), have been interpreted by some modern scholars as 'worshippers of false gods', or as 'worshippers of images', etc. The hymnist, while referring to *Śiśnadevas, Mūradevas,* etc., invariably invoke the principal Aryan god Indra to destroy them for their anti-Aryan activities. It will not be unreasonable to find on the basis of such modern interpretations of these terms incidental references to the un-Aryan religious practices of the primitive settlers of India. It may be mentioned in this connection that both these practices of the worship of the phallic emblem and that of the divine images, though not at first countenanced by the orthodox Vedists, came to receive authoritative sanction in Paurāṇic and Tāntric ritualism.

There is at least one passage in the *Ṛigveda,* however, which possibly refers to a certain group of the Vedic people, who were not believers in Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence.* We are distinctly told by the sage Gṛitsamada that there were men who questioned the existence of Indra. These people asked, 'Who is Indra ? Who ever saw him ?' or asserted that he did not exist at all.[3] Gṛitsamada after referring to these sceptics goes on to extol the greatness of the god in several hymns as if to convince the non-believers of their error. If this interpretation of the Vedic verse in question is correct, we may find here an allusion to at least a small section of the Indo-Aryans who did not accept the general religious order current among the higher and larger section of them. Keith refers to several hymns of the *Ṛigveda* where the all-compassing god Indra and the venerable hymn-singing priests officiating in the performance of sacrifices appear as objects of ridicule.[4] This attitude may also indicate the existence of a class of people to whom the most sacred objects in the Vedic order could occasionally serve as butts of contempt and ridicule.

RELIGION IN THE BRĀHMAṆAS AND ĀRAṆYAKAS

The Brāhmaṇas like *Aitareya, Śatapatha, Gopatha, Tāṇḍya* (*Pañchaviṁśa*),etc., attached to the different Saṁhitās give us a picture of the contemporary religion which is not much different from Vedism, especially in the matter of sacrificial rituals. In fact, these texts collectively elaborate the numerous procedural details in the matter of orderly performance of various sacrifices, and thus fall under the *vidhi* section (rules and regulations) of the Vedic literature.[5] They are also repository of a large number of anecdotes which principally record incidents connected with the proper observations of the different regulations. In the Saṁhitā portion also stories are occasionally found ; but they are mostly in a rudimentary stage, or in the form of charades or riddles (*brahmodyas*). This aspect of the Vedic literature has been noted here on account of the fact that some at least of these anecdotes appear to have influenced the mythology of the Paurāṇic and Tāntric religions at a later period.

The emphasis on the elaborate performance of expensive sacrifices not practicable for all, especially the poorer section of the common people, came to be questioned in course of time by a group of intellectuals, the Vānaprasthas and the Yatis, who composed treatises in their forest homes interpreting the allegory and inner significance of the rituals. As the works were mainly composed in forests, they came to be known as the Āraṇyakas falling under the Arthavāda section of Vedic literature, for their attempts at allegorical interpretation. But this intellectual approach to religious problems attained its apogee in the Upanishads which came to be rightly adjudged as the Vedānta, the acme of the Vedas.

RELIGION IN THE UPANISHADS

When we reach the age of the major Upanishads, a remarkable change is met with. Sacrifice which so long primarily engaged the attention of the priests is relegated to the background, and its place is taken up by the ardent search after the Absolute, the supreme Brahman, the one eternal entity (*Sat*). The name Brahman is to be found in earlier Vedic texts mainly in the sense of prayer and then spell; but the expanded significance came to be gradually attached to it in the times of the early Upanishads. The old Ṛigvedic belief in the existence of a variety of personal gods, no doubt of a henotheistic or kathenotheistic character (in this form different individual deities were given the most important position for the time being on different occasions) gave place to the faith in the impersonal Brahman. The tendency towards believing in the existence of one divine principle is already discernible in some late hymns of the *Ṛigveda*, the most outstanding of which is the verse I. 164, 46. The seer of this hymn where the verse occurs is the sage Dīrghatamā Auchathya who asserts that "the celestial beautful-winged sun-bird is the one eternally existing entity who has been called in different ways (under different names such as) Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan."

Indraṁ Mitraṁ Varuṇam Agnimāhuratho divyaḥ sa
suparṇo garutmān |
Ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanty Agniṁ Yamaṁ
· *Mātariśvānamāhuḥ* ||

The god Viśvakarmā as described in the 82nd hymn of the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigeda* also expresses this sort of concept. But the one entity (*ekaṁ sat*) described in this way is associated with the names of concrete personal gods like Sūrya or Viśvakarmā, whereas the Brahman idea as expressed in the earlier pantheistic Upanishads is impersonal in character. In the Brāhmaṇas, the one god of outstanding importance is Prajāpati, primarily the creator god of sacrifice, from whom the god Brahmā, the creator unit of the Paurāṇic triad Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, was derived.

The origin of the conception of Brahman as a cosmic principle, the highest principle of the universe, is traceable in the *Brāhmaṇas*, to which the *Atharvaveda* may also be added in this context. But various passages in different Brāhmaṇas contain so many assertions about Brahman of a somewhat conflicting nature that it is very difficult to form a definite idea about it. It is in the earlier Upanishads where the old gods are depersonalised, that this Absolute Principle conceived in its impersonal form makes its appearance as the one eternally existing entity having no second of its own, so tersely expressed in the Upanishadic dictum *Ekamevādvitīyam*. The pantheism of the early prose Upanishads like *Bṛihadāraṇyaka, Aitareya, Chhāndogya*, etc., is characteristically emphasised by such expressions as *Sarvaṁ khalvidaṁ Brahma* ('all this really is Brahman'), *tajjalān* ('in it everything is born, everything exists and everything is absorbed'), etc. This essentially pantheistic idea about the immanence of the impersonal Brahman is also supplemented by the concept of its transcendence as stated in the *Brahmasūtra*, a handy compendium of the Upanishads.[6] This idea about the simultaneously immanent and transcendant aspects of the divinity conceived as the cosmic personal god Purusha is beautifully expressed in the first verse of the 90th hymn (Purushasūkta) in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda*.[7] In some of the metrical Upanishads of the major group, which are chronologically later in point of date, pantheism is undoubtedly supplemented (not exactly replaced) by theism, and the concept of the one god given different names is clearly personalised. The *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* is one such metrical Upanishad, where Brahman is not only personalised to a great extent; but different names like Rudra, Mahādeva, Īśa, Īśāna and Śiva are used to describe him. One other point to be noted here is that the concept of Ātman in its two-fold aspects, Paramātman (the Supreme Soul) and Jīvātman (the individual soul), though traceable to the Brāhmaṇas, is fully developed in the Upanishads, where the first aspect is identified with Brahman.

THE UPANISHADS : THEIR VARIEGATED CHARACTER

Another point to be noted in connection with the religio-philosophic speculations of the sages of the major Upanishads, as has been pointed out by R. G. Bhandarkar, is that they do not invariably teach 'a system of pantheism', but tell us about 'various systems of doctrines as regards the nature of God, man and the world, and the relations between them'.[8] This variety was fully taken advantage of by the theologians of the different Paurāṇic religious systems in finding necessary support for their individual doctrines, and criticising those of their opposing schools of thought. They, however, sometimes outdid their task, when they tried to trace authority for their own view-points by far-fetched and unreal explanations of Upanishadic passages which were essentially of a different character. Like the Vedic hymns, the Upanishadic tenets were the results of deep speculations of different thinkers, an appreciable number of whom appear to have belonged to the Kshatriya order. Thus it is hardly to be expected that there will be strict uniformity in the matter of details, and sometimes of principles thought out by them, though, in general and broad outlines, they appear to have followed a set order. There is no denying the fact that rudiments of some of the Indian systems of philosophy, especially the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga and the Vedānta, are to be found in Upanishadic teachings. These again served as the background of many of the tenets of the Paurāṇic and Tāntric religions of subsequent times. The early Upanishads thus came to occupy such an important place in the religious literature of India, that numerous works of pseudo-Upanishadic character came to be composed in much later times, in which special stress was laid on Yoga, Sannyāsa and Vaishṇavite or Śaivite symbolism. Even teachings of Jesus Christ and Muhammad were incorporated in such late apocryphal works as Khrishṭopanishad and Āllopanishad.[9]

FURTHER CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK : EMERGENCE OF BHAKTI

Further changes were introduced in the religious outlook of the Indians in the post-Upanishadic period, and one element that now emerged strong was that of Bhakti, the loving adoration for a personal god. It has been pointed out above that in some of the metrical Upanishads of the major group, theism had already made its appearance, and Brahman-Ātman had been personalised under such names as Īśa, Īśāna, Rudra, Mahādeva, etc. The tendency to replace the impersonal Brahman by one personal god was there, and the necessity for such a god was being felt even by the intellectuals. In the first few verses of the 12th canto (Bhaktiyoga) of the *Bhagavadgītā*, a contrast between the worshippers of the imperishable and unmanifest (*akshara avyakta*, the Absolute Brahman) on the one hand, and those devotees of the personal god Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa on the other, is made. Lord Kṛshṇa says, 'Greater is the toil of those whose thoughts are fixed on the Unmanifest; for painfully is the way of the Unmanifest won by those who bear the body. But those who have cast off all works on me, and, making me their goal, meditate on me and worship me with undivided control, soon will I lift them up from the ocean of the mortal round, O son of Pṛithā, for their thoughts are fixed on me.'[10] This was now the popular mental attitude of the Indians towards religion, which served as the immediate principal background of the origin and development of the Paurāṇic cults.

BHAKTI : ITS ESSENTIAL FEATURES

Bhakti may be taken primarily and partially to mean the excessive love and fondness of some persons for particular things, and secondarily and more correctly to signify the deep affectionate and mystic devotion for some personal deity who is the object of worship (*pūjā*). The primary and lower sense is indicated by Pāṇini in his *sūtra* on Bhakti in the 4th chapter of his *Ashṭādhyāyī*, where the rule for the derivation of such words as *āpūpika, pāyasika* (meaning 'those who are excessively fond of cakes, and rice boiled in sweet and milk') is laid down. But side by side are placed the rules for the formation of such words as *Vāsudevaka* and *Ārjunaka*, 'adorers of Vāsudeva and Arjuna', two hero-gods. This *sūtra* (IV. 3, 98) will be further commented on in the first lecture on Vaishṇavism; but it is to be noted how the higher sense of the word is fully indicated here by the grammarian. The most important constituent factors making up the higher sense of Bhakti are 'belief in one personal god as spiritual being, the faith that his power is sufficient to secure that at the last the good will conquer, and lastly a conception of the nexus that binds together God and his worshippers as mainly moral'.[11] We have seen how the first of these three factors was gradually making its appearance in some Ṛigvedic hymns of later strata and in some theistic Upanishads. The two other factors are faintly traceable in the Ṛigvedic concept of Varuṇa, the moral god who looks after every action of men. But Varuṇa was a god of lesser importance than Indra and Agni in the age of the Saṁhitā. The religious outlook of the time as presented by the hymns was not fully conducive to the growth of this element, and it is only in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* that we find probably one of the earliest mentions of the word *bhakti*. In the *Ṛigveda*, I. 127, 5, the words *bhaktam* and *abhaktam* occur, and in *R.V.*, VIII. 27, 11, we find the use of the word in this manner :—

Ida hi va upastutimidā vāmasya bhaktaye |
upa vo viśvavedaso namasyurāñ asṛikshyanyāmiva ||

But these earlier uses of the word do not establish at all that it signified the same sense as it did in later times in connection with the Paurāṇic and Tāntric religious systems.[12]

ROOTS OF BHAKTI

It has been suggested by many scholars that the roots of the element of Bhakti are also traceable in the religion of the original settlers of India, and to the beliefs and practices of the lower orders of the Indian people. Ritual worship of divinities in whom these different groups of people had their faith contained this element, and the images and emblems of the father-god and the mother-goddess appear to have been worshipped with devotion by the early Indus Valley people of the pre-Vedic age. Literary and archaeological data of the early historic period of the post-Vedic times are available in plenty, which leave little doubt that non-Vedic deities like the Yakshas, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Apsarās and others were also objects of devotional worship by these people. Several of the inscribed

Yaksha and Yakshiṇī images of the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era found in different parts of Northern India, and many Nāga and Nāginī images hailing from Mathurā and its environs prove how the worship of these so-called intermediate divinities (*Vyantara-devatā* is the term used in early Buddhist and Jaina texts for denoting them) was very much popular. A large stone image of Yaksha Maṇibhadra of c. 1st century B.C. found at Pol or Padam Pawaya (Padmāvatī, the capital of the ancient Nāga kings) in Gwalior, now in Madhya Pradesh, has a long inscription on its pedestal. One significant line in it reads, *goshṭhyā Māṇibhadrabhaktā garbhasukhitā bhagavato Maṇibhadrasya pratimā pratishṭhāpayaṁti.* This clearly refers to the installation of the image of Lord Maṇibhadra by the clan of his devotees. The Chhargaon life-size Nāga image (Exhibit No. C. 13 in the Mathurā Museum) of the time of Huvishka has an inscription engraved on it, which records that 'this object of worship was installed at their own tank by two friends Senahasti and Bhonuka for the propitiation of the worshipful Nāga (*priyatti bhagavā Nāgo*)'. The bas-relief figures of various Yakshas, Yakshiṇīs, Nāgas, Nāginīs, Devatās, Apsarās, etc., on the railings and gateways of Bharhut and Sanchi throw also a very interesting light on this problem. It is true that they are presented on these monuments in the roles of so many worshippers of the Buddha ; but there is no doubt that they were really and originally the objects of worship of the common people, from whom the artists and the ancestors of the donors of these monunments were recruited.

IMPORTANCE OF A NIDDESA PASSAGE

R. G. Bhandarkar made full use of a passage in the Pāli Buddhistic text *Niddesa* (though of the nature of a commentary yet it was included in the canonical scriptures), which purports to refer to the existence of religious systems and animistic beliefs among the Indians of the pre-Christian period. The passage runs thus : 'The deity of the lay followers of the Ājīvakas is the Ājīvakas, of those of the Niganthas is the Niganthas, of those of the Jaṭilas is the Jaṭilas, of those of the Paribbājakas is the Paribbājakas, of those of the Avaruddhakas is the Avaruddhakas, and the deity of those who are devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Punnabhadda, Maṇibhadda, Agni, Nāgas, Supannas, Yakkhas, Asuras, Gandhabbas, Mahārājas, Chanda, Sūriya, Inda, Brahmā, Deva, Diśā is the elephant, the horse, the cow, the dog, the crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Punnabhadda, Maṇibhadda, etc. respectively'.[13] This is a curious assortment by a follower of Buddhism, in which believers in Ājīvikism, Jainism, asceticism, different cults; but some of them like the Yaksha Maṇibhadra, devatās, some Vedic divinities and particularly those of the two Vṛishṇi heroes, Baladeva and Vāsudeva. It is not to be understood that all the different units in this medley formed different cults, but some of them like the Yaksha Maṇibhadra, the Nāgas, the hero-gods Vāsudeva and Baladeva, and Deva (most probably Śiva in this guise), were the different cult-deities round whom the individual cults grew and developed. The Buddhist commentator was aware of the presence of Ājīvikism, Jainism, asceticism (the Jaṭilas were ascetics having matted locks on their heads), wandering monks, etc., along with the sacrificial religion centering round such Vedic deities like Indra, Sūrya, Chandra, Agni, Brahmā (Prajāpati) and others. It will be shown in the following lectures that the Paurāṇic cults which subsequently developed (some of them were already at different stages of formation at the time of this passage) did not primarily originate from any of the Vedic deities, though the Indian form of the sun-cult, especially in its earlier phase, had its basis in the Vedic concept of Sūrya as a divinity. It is also true that names of these cults starting round some of the unvedic deities came to absorb in the course of development many features of distinctly Vedic divinities, the latter sometimes lending their names in the matter of cult-designation. The cult originally centering round Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa and designated under different names like Bhāgavata, Ekāntika, Pāñcharātra, etc., came to be almost invariably described at a later stage of its development as Vaishṇava, a name derived from the Vedic solar deity Vishṇu.

THE PRINCIPAL PAURĀṆIC AND TĀNTRIC CULTS

It is, however, a passage in a comparatively late text of the Gupta period, which gives us the names of some of the Paurāṇic and Tāntric religions along with those of the worshippers of the Vedic-Brāhmaṇic Brahmā, and the historic hero-gods Buddha and the Jinas. In the chapter on the installation of images is his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā,* Varāhamihira says that 'the images of Vishṇu, Sūrya, Śambhu (Śiva), Mātṛigaṇa, Brahmā, Buddha and the Jinas should be duly consecrated and installed by the Bhāgavatas, the Magas, the ash-besmeared *dvijas* (i.e., the Pāśupatas), those well-versed in the *pūjā* of the Mātṛigaṇa, the Brāhmaṇas knowing the Vedas, the Śākyas (the Bauddhas) and the unclad ones (Digambara Jainas) respectively according to the rites peculiar to the worship of the individual divinities'.[14] This interesting text of the Gupta age undoubtedly testifies to the existence side by side of the sects of the Bhāgavatas (Vaishṇavas), the north-Indian sun-worshippers influenced by the East-Iranian (Śakadvīpī) form of Sun worship, the Pāśupatas with their bodies besmeared with ashes, the Tāntric Śāktas well-acquainted with the worship of the Mother-goddesses, the worshippers of the Vedic-Brāhmaṇic deity Brahmā, the Bauddhas and the Jains. Barring the last two in the list (or three, for whatever was the position of exclusive Brahmā-worship as a cult in the time of Varāhamihira, it was a losing concern and it did never enjoy as much importance as the others did), the other four are clearly to be identified with the four of the major Paurāṇic and Tāntric religious systems. This list, however, is not an exhaustive one, and exclusive worshippers of some other Paurāṇic gods like Skanda-Kārttikeya and Gaṇapati are not included in it. The non-mention of the Gāṇapatyas (the exclusive worshippers of Gaṇapati-Gaṇeśa) in this context may prove that this sect had not developed as a stereotyped religious system like those of the others by the time of Varāhamihira ; there is clear evidence, however, that the images of the elephant-headed pot-bellied divinity were known. But the worship of the other god under the name of Svāmī Brahmaṇyadeva-Kumāra was much in vogue among the warlike tribe of the Yaudheyas at an earlier period.

RITUALISTIC PRACTICES CONNECTED WITH THE PAURĀṆIC AND TĀNTRIC SYSTEMS

Utpala (10th century A.D.), while commenting on this verse makes some significant observations. He first equates Vishṇu with Nārāyaṇa, Magas with the Maga-Brāhmaṇas, the *sabhasma-dvijas* with the Pāśupatas, the Mātṛigaṇa with the seven or eight divine mothers having Brāhmī in the first place (*Brāhmyādīnām*), Sarvahita-śāntamanā and the Śākyas with the Buddha and the Raktapaṭas (evidently in allusion to the yellow-red garment of the Buddhist monks), Nagna Jinas with the Digambara Arhats (Nagna Kshapaṇaka Jainās). Then he refers to the respective tenets of these different sectaries, according to which the images of their individual objects of worship are to be consecrated and installed in the shrine in this manner. The images of Vishṇu should be installed according to the Pāñcharātra rites, those of Sūrya according to the *Sauradarśana-vidhāna,* those of Śiva according to the rites laid down in the *Vātula* and other Tantras, the images of the Matṛigaṇa according to the regulations laid down in their own *Kalpa* (a designation of the Tāntric Śākta texts), of Brahmā according to the Vedic ritualism, of Buddha according to the Pāramitā order, of the Arhats or Jinas according to the canons laid down in the *Jaina-darśana.*[15] The equation of the Bhāgavata-Pāñcharātras with the Vaishṇavas had long been in vogue before the time of Utpala, or, for the matter of that, before Varāhamihira. The Pāśupata was the authorised name of the major Śaiva sect, and the worship of the Divine Mothers was the principal manifestation of the Śakti cult. In connection with the Pāśupata rituals, Utpala refers to *Vātulatantra* and other Tantras. Pandit Dvivedi was uncertain about the exact character of the first; but a consideration of some of the ritualistic practices, associated with this *ugra* (fierce or outlandish) order of Śaivism will show that many of these will appear to a normal social man to be insane in character. That Vedic ritualism was to be used in the installation of the images of Brahmā Prajāpati may indicate that serious attempts were still being made in assinging him the position of a sectarian deity like Vishṇu or

Śiva; but this god was more worshipped as an accessory to the other two in the epic and Paurāṇic period.

MYTHOLOGY OF THE PAURĀṆIC AND TĀNTRIC RELIGIONS: ITS VEDIC BACKGROUND

One of the other backgrounds of the Paurāṇic religions is in connection with their mythology. Mythology and religion are most intimately connected. The Paurāṇic and Tāntric religious systems had different mythical stories associated with the deities connected with them. The basis of many of these stories can be traced to the Vedic mythology in a more or less convincing manner. Thus, the source of the story of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu as narrated in the Purāṇas is found in the epithet Trivikrama ('he of the three steps') attributed to Vishṇu in the *Ṛigveda* and the other early Saṁhitās. The terms *Urukrama* and *Urugāya*, 'one having gigantic strides', two other attributes of the great Vedic god, were also the nucleus of the Vāmana Avatāra mythology. One can trace its development through the intermediate stages, one of which is undoubtedly to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and a few other Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka texts. The story narrated in them in a more or less similar manner tells us about the continual wars between the Devas and the Asuras. The Asuras afterwards accepted the apparently modest proposal of the other party that they would make over to the Devas only that portion of the land which would be covered by the recumbent body of Vishṇu. The former thought that they would have to part with very little, for Vishṇu was the dwarfest among the gods. But Vishṇu lying down covered the whole of the Universe, and the Asuras had to keep their contract. He could do so, as he was the same as sacrifice which was coextensive with the world. The epic and Paurāṇic mythology of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu is nothing but a further embellishment of the Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka story, which also makes full use of the Trivikrama aspect of Vishṇu, the Vedic Āditya. The solar aspect of this Vedic god is also emphasised in the Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka version in which we are further told about an episode. It relates that

Vishṇu was resting with his head placed on his fully strung bow after his feat; the other gods feeling jealous of him instigated the ants to cut the tautly stretched string of the bow which with a sudden straightening jerk severed the god's head. The severed head went straight up to the sky, from where it began to shine as the sun. The many epithets or names which are given to Rudra in the Śatarudriya (*Yajurveda*), the Vedic background of the Paurāṇic Śiva, were without doubt the nucleii of a large number of mythologies associated with the sectarian deity. The epithet *Kṛittivāsa* (one having the animal's hide as his garment) appears to have been the Vedic basis of the story of Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti of the god in the epic and Paurāṇic times. The legend about Saraṇyu and Vivasvat, a sort of *brahmodya* (a charade or riddle)) in the *Atharvaveda* and some other Vedic texts was undoubtedly the source of the Paurāṇic story of Sūrya and his two wives Saṁjñā and Chhāyā, which also was used by the myth-makers to account for one of the peculiar inconographic features of the main image of the North Indian sun-cult. Many more such instances connected not only with the Paurāṇic systems of Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Sūrya worship, but also with the other systems of composite Hinduism can be mentioned.

COMPOSITE HINDUISM : ITS VARIOUS STRANDS

Reference has been made in the very beginning of this lecture to Monier-Williams' classification of Hinduism. His Vedism and Brāhmaṇism are in a way the earlier phases of Paurāṇic and Tāntric cults which characterised the composite system conveniently described as Hinduism. But it will not be correct to say that there were no other strands in the composition of the latter. If a careful analysis is made of the final shape it took in subsequent ages, different other strands can be recognised in the developed forms of its various constituents. Some pre-Vedic elements appear to have contributed to the growth and development of several of these units. Worship of certain historic and semi-historic personalities was at the root of at least a few of the most important Paurāṇic religious systems, Some folk deities also served as the central figures of such religions as that of the Gāṇapatyas, probably a later merger of the earlier cults of the Yakshas and the Nāgas. But, in all these developments, it was the one-souled devotion (*ekātmikā bhakti*) of the different groups of adherents to the various cult-deities, which played the most important part.

REFERENCES

1. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India,* p. 2.
2. W. D. P. Hill, The *Bhagavadgītā,* p. 120.
3. *R.V.*, II. 12, 5 : *Yaṁ smā pṛichchhanti kuha seti ghoram utemāhurnaisho astītyenam.* A. B. Keith finds a reference to the non-believers in Indra in *R.V.*, VIII. 103 ; 3; but there is no clear reference to them here. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads,* p. 433.
4. A. B. Keith, *op. cit.,* p. 434. In *R.V.*, IX. 112, and X. 119, the hymnists sing in jocular vein about Indra's inebriety, through his excessive fondness for Soma. The frog hymn of the *Ṛigveda* (VII. 103), probably intended for a rain-spell, compares the hymn-singing priests desiring wealth from their Yajamānas with the croaking frogs expecting heavy showers.
5. The Vedic literature of the earlier stratum forming a compact mass are usually grouped under 4 heads : Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upanishads, falling respectively under (1) Mantra, (2) Vidhi, (3) Arthavāda and (4) Vedānta.
6. *Brahmasūtra* (*Vedāntasūtra*) of Bādarāyaṇa, II. i, 27.
7. *Sahasraśīrshā Purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt |*
   Sa bhūmiṁ viśvato vṛitvā atyatishṭhaddaśāṅgulam ||
   'Thousand-headed and thousand-eyed Purusha with one-thousand legs after covering the earth (universe) from all sides, transcends it by ten *aṅgulas*'. The hymn belongs to the latest strata of the Saṁhitā, where we find for the first time the mention of the four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Ṣūdra.
8. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Ṣaivism and Minor Religious Systems,* p. 1.
9. The minor Upanishads to the tune of more than 200 in number were published in one volume by the Adyar Library, Madras.

10. Cf. W. D. P. Hill's translation of verses 5-7 :—
Kleśo'dhikatarasteshām Avyaktāsaktachetasām |
Avyaktā hi gatir duḥkhaṁ dehavadbhiravāpyate ||
Ye tu sarvāṇi karmāṇi mayi saṁnasya matparāḥ |
Ananyenaiva yogena māṁ dhyāyanta upāsate |
Teshāmahaṁ samuddhartā mṛityusaṁsārasāgarāt |
|*Bhavāmi na chirāt Pārtha mayyāveśitachetasām* ||

11. N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 7.

12. *Śvet. Up.*, VI. 23 : *Yasya deve parā bhaktiryathā deve tathā gurau* | *Tasyaite kathitā hyarthāḥ prakāśante mahātmānaḥ* || 'These things will be understood only when they are taught to a high-souled person who venerates god and also his teacher.' R. G. Bhandarkar finds in such words as *Agnibhaktīni Indrabhaktīni* used by Yāska the passive sense of *bhakti*, and means a thing resorted to or loved, the particular words meaning 'things which resort to, or relate themselves to Agni, Indra and others'. Bhandarkar says that the idea of love was associated with the word in early times, though it then signified 'loved' instead of 'love' (*op. cit.*, p. 29). Sri Atul Ch. Chakravarti, Head of the Bengali Department, Balurghat College, West Dinajpur (West Bengal), kindly drew my attention to *R.V.*, VIII. 27, 11.

13. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

14. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Sudhakar Dvivedi's edition, Ch. 59, verse 19 :—
Viṣṇorbhāgavatān magāṁścha savituḥ śambhoḥ sabhasmadvijān
Mātṛīnāmapi maṇḍalakramavido viprān vidurbrahmaṇaḥ |
Śākyān sarvahitasya śāntamanaso nagnān jināṁ vidu-
rye yaṁ devamupāśritāḥ svavidhinā taistasya kāryā kriyā ||

15. This part of the commentary runs thus : *Ye narā yaṁ devamupāśritāḥ śaraṇyaṁ bhaktibhāvena prāptāstair naraistasya devasya svavidhinā ātmīyadarśanoktena vidhānena Pāñcharātravidhinā Vishṇoḥ Sauradarśanavidhānena Savituḥ Vātulatantroktenānyatantroktavidhinā vā Śambhoḥ Mātṛīnām svakalpavihitavidhānena Brāhmaṇair Vedavihitakarmaṇā Buddhasya pāramitākarmeṇa Arhatāṁ taddarśanavidhinā kriyā kāryā* (*op. cit.*, p. 797).

LECTURE II

VAISHṆAVISM—I

VAISHṆAVISM : ITS EARLIER DESIGNATIONS

One of the most important of the Paurāṇic religious systems to emerge in the early stage of their evolutionary and formative period was Vaishṇavism. The name is evidently derived from Vishṇu, primarily the solar god of the Vedas. But it would not mean that the god was really at the root of the Paurāṇic cult which came to be known by this designation at a comparatively late stage of its development. It is in one of the latest sections of the *Mahābhārata* that the term Vaishṇava occurs. The author of the section says in this verse that 'whatever merit accrues to a person who listens to the 18 Purāṇas, will accrue to a Vaishṇava' (XVIII. VI, 97—

Ashṭādaśapurāṇānāṁ śravanād yat phalaṁ bhavet |
Tatphalaṁ samavāpnoti Vaishṇavo nātra saṁśayaḥ ||

One of the authoritative Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās, *Pādma Tantra* by name, enumerates thus the different names of the cult :—

Sūrissuhṛit bhāgavatassāttvataḥ pañchakālavit |
Ekāntikastanmayaścha pāñcharātrika ityapi ||

It means that 'Sūri, Suhṛit, Bhāgavata, Sāttvata, Pañchakālavit, Ekāntika, Tanmaya and Pāñcharātrika are different designations of this Bhakti cult)'. It should be noted that in this list the term Vaishṇava is conspicuous by its absence. It has been shown in the previous lecture that Varāhamihira also does not use the word Vaishṇava, but uses Bhāgavata, to denote this system, and Utpala names Pāñcharātra as its synonym. It will be shortly shown that though Vaishṇava or rather Parama-Vaishṇava occurs in some inscriptions of the Gupta period, most of the imperial Guptas themselves are described in their inscriptions as Paramabhāgavatas. This indicates that the Paurāṇic cult designation had not been much in vogue even at that time.

Of the other synonyms noted in the *Pādma Tantra* (IV. 2, 88, just quoted), Sāttvata, Ekāntika and Tanmaya are self-explanatory; the first is one of the several names (Sāttvata, Vṛishṇi, Andhaka, etc.) of the tribe to which the historical figure Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa belonged, the two others denoting the devoted attitude of the adherents of the cult. Some distant connection of the first term in the list, Sūri, has been sought with the Sūris of the *Ṛigvedic* text, who are described as 'always gazing with their eyes distended to the heavens, the highest step of Vishṇu' (*Tad-Vishṇoh paramaṁ padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ divīva chakṣhurātatam*). D. C. Sircar finds here 'the germ of Vishṇu's later greatness', and traces of sectarian Vaishṇavism 'even in the *Ṛigveda*' in the *Sūris* of the passage. But he rightly observes at the same time that it cannot be asserted 'in the present state of our knowledge, that Vaishṇavism as a theistic religion flourished in the Vedic age'.[1] The general trend of early Vedism will militate against the supposition that the Sūris were the early precursors of the Vaishṇavas; it is more probable, if not certain, that when the Bhāgavata Pāñcharātra cult was well established by the early centuries of the Christian era, and Vedic Vishṇu came to be identified with the human hero-god Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, the fountain head of the theistic cult, such texts like the *Pādma Tantra* would utilise some Vedic texts and passages in their own way. The Sūris of the Ṛigvedic hymn originally appear to have denoted a group of sages (*ṛishis*) who aspired to have knowledge of the highest step (*parama-pada*) of Vedic Vishṇu, and their name was taken at a much later period to mean one of the various designations of the followers of the theistic cult. The term *Suhṛit* in this list is very difficult to explain. It means 'friend', and might allude to Arjuna who was regarded as one of the foremost friends of the Sāttvata hero-god. It will be presently shown that the first clear mention of Vāsudeva as the exclusive object of worship of a group of people, also contains a reference to the worshippers of this friend, who appear to have been absorbed in the general body of the Vāsudeva worshippers. The exact significance of *Pañchakālavit* and *Pāñcharātrika* or *Pāñcharātra* has not yet been definitely determined; but the latter was undoubtedly an authoritative designation of the cult with a particular theology underlying it.

BHĀGAVATAS AND THE WORSHIPPERS OF VĀSUDEVA AND ARJUNA

Bhāgavata was the authoritative name of the cult centering round the Sāttvata chief Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa in its early formative stage. This is proved by literary and archæological data. Pāṇini's reference to the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Arjuna in one *sūtra* of his *Ashṭādhyāyī* (IV. 3, 98) has already been noted in the previous lecture. There is no doubt that this is one of the earliest mentions of the exclusive worshippers of Vāsudeva, who later came to be known as Bhāgavata, Pāñcharātra and Vaishṇava. There was at first some doubt whether Vāsudeva of this *sūtra* was the same as the epic Kshatriya hero Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. Had this been the case, then there would have been no necessity for the grammarian's framing this *sūtra*. The one following it (IV. 3, 99—*Gotrakshatriyākhyebhyo bahulaṁ vuñ*) would have served the purpose. It records that, in framing words denoting the admirers of eminent (*gotra*) Kshatriyas, the suffix *vuñ* should be added to the names of the latter, e.g., *Glauchukāyanakaḥ, Aupagavakaḥ Nākulakaḥ, Sāhadevakaḥ, Sāmbakaḥ* (the admirers of Gluchukāyana, Upagava, Nakula, Sahadeva and Sāmba respectively). Vāsudeva and Arjuna were certainly more illustrious and prominent than the Kshatriya heroes just named. Patañjali, the great commentator of Pāṇini anticipated this objection and justified Pāṇini's formation of a separate rule by suggesting that these two were also 'divine and worshipful ones' (*athavā naishā Kshatriyākhyā saṁjñaishā tatrabhavataḥ* or *tatra bhagavataḥ*, a variant reading). Grierson, R. G. Bhandarkar and others accepting this explanation of Patañjali concluded that Vāsudeva and Arjuna were the deified Kshatriya heroes. There was at first some controversy about the acceptance of this conclusion; but there is now no difference of opinion about it.

A further reference to a few *sūtras* of Pāṇini and the *vārttikas* on them by Kātyāyana as quoted by Patañjali in his commentary is necessary in this connection, before something is said about the worshippers of Arjuna. Pāṇini refers to the allied tribes of Andhakas and Vṛishṇis in his *sūtra* IV. I, 14, and Patañjali after noting the *vārttika* on it mentions the names of Śvaphalka, Chaitraka and Ugrasena as belonging to the Andhaka clan and those of Vāsudeva, Baladeva and Vishvaksena to the Vṛishṇi group, both evidently belonging to the same tribe. Patañjali further alludes to the *vārttika* on *sūtra* IV. 2, 104, and names the followers of Akrūra and Vāsudeva (*Akrūravargyaḥ Vāsudevavargyaḥ*). Vāsudeva's fight with his maternal uncle Kaṁsa, and the latter's defeat and destruction at the hands of the former are also recorded in the *Mahābhāshya*. The commentator further noted that Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa was the younger brother of Saṅkarshaṇa (another name of Baladeva). Two other names of Baladeva-Saṅkarshaṇa, viz. Rāma and Rauhiṇeya, and the name Keśava of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa were also known to Patañjali. The great commentator, while commenting on the *sūtra alpāch taram* (II. 2, 34), refers to the temples that were erected for Dhanapati (the Yaksha king Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa), Rāma (Saṅkarshaṇa-Baladeva) and Keśava (Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa).

THE ARJUNA-WORSHIPPERS

Arjuna also appears to have been deified along with his great relation Vāsudeva (according to the epic and Purāṇic tradition they were cousin brothers) and was adored by a certain section of the people. Arjuna, however, was of lesser importance. This fact is emphasised by the placing of his name after that of Vāsudeva in the *dvandva* compound of the *sūtra* (IV. 3, 98). According to another *sūtra* (II. 2, 34—*alpāch taram*) of the same grammarian, in such compounds the word containing lesser number of syllabes should precede the other with more of them. A proper application of this aphorism should have given the form *Arjuna-Vāsudeva* and not *Vāsudev-Ārjuna.* But one of the *vārtikas* made by Kātyāyana on this *sūtra* expressly lays down that in a *dvandva* compound of two words, the one denoting a more honoured entity will precede the other denoting the less honoured (*abhyarhitaṁ cha pūrvaṁ nipatatīti*). This *vārttika* would explain why Vāsudeva containing four syllables (*Vā-su-de-va*) had been placed before Arjuna having three syllables (*A-rju-na*) in this compound. Vāsudeva was certainly more honoured and adored than Arjuna, and his worshippers were much more important as a sectarian group than those of the latter. The *Mahābhārata* preserves the tradition about the existence of the worshippers of Arjuna in the Udyogaparva where it expressly states that 'the two heroes Vāsudva and Arjuna were really the two ancient deities known by the names of Nara and Nārāyaṇa' (V. 49, 19). It is almost certain that the *goshṭhī* of the Arjuna-bhaktas, whatever position they might have enjoyed in the society in the time of Pāṇini, was merged in the course of the expansion of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa worship in the more important cult, as Arjuna himself came to be presented in the epic mythology as the greatest devotee of Kṛishṇa.

FURTHER REFERENCE TO VĀSUDEVA

No explicit mention of Vāsudeva is found in early Vedic literature. Some proper names like Kṛishṇīya and Kṛishṇa are found in the first and eighth *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛigveda*;[2] but these cannot be definitely connected with the epic Kṛishṇa. Mention is made of a Kṛishṇa of the Āṅgirasa-gotra in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* (30. 9), and one of the same name belonging to the Hārīta gotra in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (III. 2, 6). These also cannot be stated to have any close connection with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. But one Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, mentioned in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (III. 17, 6) is almost certainly the same as the epic Kṛishṇa. Here he is described as the pupil of the solar priest Ghora Āṅgirasa, from whom he learned some precepts. H. C. Raychaudhuri rightly pointed out that the tenets which the former learnt from his preceptor bore marked similarity to those which were preached by Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa to Arjuna in the *Bhagavadgītā* (VII-IX). The three immortal precepts leading to heaven, that are engraved in the pillar of Heliodorus at Besnagar (to be discussed at greater length afterwards) are also included among these tenets.[3] This fact, and the explicit mention in the Upanishad that he was the son of Devakī unmistakably establish the identity of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa of the *Mahābhārata.* It should be noted that in the 18th *prapāṭhaka* of the third *khaṇḍa* of the same Upanishad, something is recorded by its author about one Mahīdāsa, son of Itarā, and on the basis of the juxtaposition of these two references there can also be no doubt that Devakīputra Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa was originally a human being like Aitareya Mahīdāsa. There is no justification for endorsing Keith's view that here we find an early euhemeristic record of the god Kṛishṇa. Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu of the *Bhagavadgītā* is without doubt a god ; but his divinity is based on his greatness as a man who had established the realm of virtue and righteousness in the place of that of vice and unrighteousness. The Vishṇugāyatrī of the supplementary Vedic literature like the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad* of a later period emphasises three of the constituents of the divinity centering round Vāsudeva. It reads thus : *Oṁ Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe Vāsudevāya dhīmahi tanno Vishṇuḥ prachodayāt* (the position of Vāsudeva in the middle of the passage is to be noted). Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic god of the late Siṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa period, and Vishṇu, the solar deity (Āditya of the Saṁhitās, also identical with sacrifice) were merged with Vāsudeva in the course of his deification.

The *Niddesa* reference to the god Vāsudeva has already been noted earlier in this lecture. In the *Ghaṭajātaka* of the Pāli collection of the Jātaka stories, a garbled version of the man Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa is given in this manner. Vāsudeva and his brothers were the sons of Kaṁsa's sister Devagabbhā and her husband Upasāgara. These sons were handed over to a man named Andhakaveṇhu and his wife Nandagopā, an attendant of Devagabbhā. The Jātaka story was first noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar to emphasise that, by the time this particular Jātaka account was composed in the post-Christian period, the mythology of Gopāla-Kṛishṇa (the child-Kṛishṇa with pastoral association) was directly influenced by the stories connected with the early life of Jesus Christ.[4] This view about the association of the Gopāla-Kṛishṇa mythology with Christianity is not accepted by all. But the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* account illustrates, in a very curious way, how a part of the tradition about the early life of Kṛishṇa was known to the Buddhist writers. The Jaina texts of a later period were also aware of much of this tradition. The *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra* mentions Vāsudeva as Keśava, and describes him as a contemporary of Arishṭanemi, the 22nd Tīrthaṁkara, both of whom were princes of the town of Soriyapura (Sauryapura). Keśava's parents were Vasudeva and Devakī, Arishṭanemi's were king Samudravijaya and Śivā. The story told in the text is a confused one; but Keśava-Vāsudeva's dynastic association is correctly reported.[5] The Sāttvata hero was one of the sixty-three Śalākāpurushas according to the Jaina tradition.

VĀSUDEVA-KṚISHṆA IN FOREIGN LITERATURE

R. G. Bhandarkar was the first to draw the attention of scholars to a significant passage in Megasthenes's *Indica* referring to the Sāttvatas, to the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa and to the cities of Mathurā and Kṛishṇapura between which the river Jamunā flowed. Megasthenes mentions Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as Herakles (the Greek man-god), his worshippers the Sāttvatas as Saurasenoi (evidently a derivative of the Indian tribal name of the Sūrasenas who lived in the Mathurā region), the two cities as Methora and Kleisobora and the river flowing between them as Jobares.[6] In another passage of the same work (*Indica*) quoted by Arrian, Diodorus and others, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta observes that the two gods Herakles and Dionysios were worshipped respectively by the Indians of the plains and those of the hills. There is no doubt that the foreigner, resident in India for sometime, identifies the two Indian deities, Kṛishṇa and Śiva, with his own gods Herakles and Dionysios respectively. Quintus Curtius, a first century B.C. analyst of Alexander's Indian invasion, observes on the authority of the contemporary historians of Alexander that the soldiers of Poros (Puru, the king of the Jhelum region) carried the effigy of Herakles in front of their ranks in their fight with the Greek battalions. The Paurava army believed that this would enthuse them for the attainment of victory, and it would be a dishonour more undesirable than death in fleeing away from the battle-field. This possibly alludes to the *Gītā* tradition in an indirect way—to the agency of the Pārthasārathi Kṛishṇa in making the at first unwilling Arjuna agree to fight with zeal in the Kurukshetra war. It may be suggested that Puru himself and a major section of his army were worshippers of the man-god Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. This suggestion can be supported by a rationalistic interpretation of a passage in the Indian section (Book VII) of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, the eminent Geographer of the 2nd century A.D. It reads, 'Around the Bidaspes was the country of the Pandoouoi'.[7] *Bidaspes* is Ptolemy's more correct way of transliterating *Vitastā* than the other Greek form *Hydaspes*, and the *Pandoouoi* is the evident Greek transliteration of *Pāṇḍava*. The foreign geographer might have referred, in this indirect manner, to the prevalence of the Vāsudeva-worshippers in and around the Jhelum region by describing them as Pāṇḍava, for who were the greater admirers of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa than the sons of Pāṇḍu?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE REGARDING VĀSUDEVA-KṚISHṆA WORSHIP

One of the earliest archæological evidences regarding the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa in Northern India is the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus. This inscription is of great importance for the early history of this cult for more reasons than one. It was found engraved on the shaft of a raised column (described in the record as *Garuḍadhvaja*) still *in situ* at Besnagar not far from the modern city of Bhilsa (both situated on the site of the ancient city of Vidiśā) in the Gwalior region of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription written in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B.C. records that the *Garuḍadhvaja* (the Garuḍa capital on the top of the standing column is now gone) was erected in honour of *Devadeva* Vāsudeva by one *Bhāgavata* Heliodorus, son of Dion, originally an inhabitant of Takshaśilā and a Yavana (Indo-Greek), sent as an ambassador of the local Indo-Greek king Antialkidas to the court of king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā. After recording this in several lines, the three immortal precepts leading to heaven noted earlier in this lecture are engraved below.[8] Several things are to be noted in this inscription. The name of the cult is mentioned here as Bhāgavata; a foreigner (an Ionian Greek) settled in the extreme north of India, also an important plenipotentiary of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas (his silver and copper coins have been discovered in large numbers), was a convert to the Bhakti cult, to whom Vāsudeva was the god of the gods; the column described as *Garuḍadhvaja* indicates that the identification of Vāsudeva with the Vedic Āditya Vishṇu had made much progress, for Garuḍa (Garutmān) was the theriomorphic form of the latter. The foreign convert was so much impressed by the tenets of the cult that he notes one of its significant tenets in his record on the column—*tini amutapadāni* (*iya*) *su-anuṭhitāni neyaṁti svagaṁ dama chāga appamāda* (Three immortal precepts, *dama, tyāga* and *apramāda,* when they are well practised in this life lead to heaven).

That Vidiśā was an old seat of the Bhāgavata cult is further proved by a few other inscriptions and archæological remains discovered at Besnagar and its environs. Another fragmentary inscription of about the same period found at Besnagar mentions the construction of an excellent temple of the Bhagavat (*bhagavato prāsādottama*), and there is no doubt that in this temple (described here as a *prāsāda* or palace) was enshrined the image of Bhagavān Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa. A few other partly broken pillar capitals found at Besnagar and its environs, palmyra-shaped capital (*tāladhvaja*) and a capital of the shape of a mythical crocodile (*makaradhvaja*) indicate the prevalence of the cult in the region. The *tāladhvaja* and *maka-*

radhvaja were the respective cognisances of Saṅkarshaṇa and Pradyumna, the elder brother and son of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, who were also objects of veneration to the Bhāgavatas. It may be mentioned in this connection that two other early *tāladhvajas* were discovered, one at Pawāyā (ancient Padmāvatī) and the other near Mathurā (the former is now in the Gwalior Museum, the latter in the Lucknow Museum). These early sculptures definitely prove that the worship of the three hero-gods was well prevalent in Madhya Pradesh.

A few replicas of another very important inscription of approximately the same time or a little later found at Nagarī (ancient Madhyamikā) near Chitor in the former state of Mewar, throw interesting light on the early history of the Bhāgavata cult. They were discovered by D. R. Bhandarkar at different sections of an ancient massive stone enclosure there in the course of his excavations in 1913-14. One more replica of the same inscription was found much earlier at Ghosuṇḍī not far from Nagarī. The inscription records that 'one (king) Pārāśarīputra Gājāyana who had performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, but was a devotee of Bhagavān (Vāsudeva) caused to be made a *pūjā*-stone wall Nārāyaṇavātikā for the divinities Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva who are unconquered and lords of all'.[9] The following points of interest are to be specially noted in the epigraphic record. Sarvatāta, though a Bhāgavata, had also performed a Vedic sacrifice; the two divinities Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva are described as unconquered and lords of all; and the *pūjāśilā* enclosure is called Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā. The simultaneous performance of a Vedic sacrifice and following a sectarian creed by an individual indicate the composite character of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism which feature came to endure. Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva are two unconquered heroes, and at the same time divine lords of all, and in the compound of the two names, that of Saṁkarshaṇa is placed first (the significance of these two points will be shortly discussed). The designation of the *pujāśilāprākāra* as Nārāyaṇavātikā is also significant, for it shows (as it was first pointed out by R. P. Chanda) that the identification of the hero-god of the cult with the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the late Vedic and Brāhmaṇic texts had already taken place.[10] This inscription undoubtedly refers to an early shrine of the two gods in ancient Madhyamikā, as Heliodorus's inscription at Besnagar does point to one of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu of the 2nd century B.C. at ancient Vidiśā.

An inscribed sculpture found at a small hamlet named Burhikhar near the village of Malhar in the Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh, should be noted in this connection. It was being worshipped as Chaturbhujī Bhagavān at the time of its discovery, and is a male figure of about 2½ feet in height. Of its four hands the front two are shown in the *añjali* or *namaskāra* pose, the back hands holding the *chakra* (upper left) and the *gadā* (upper right). The attributes indicate its sure Vishṇuite affiliation, though the pose of its front two hands as well as its head dress (a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*) prove that it was an accessory figure in a Vaishṇava shrine, perhaps an attendant of the central image of the composite god Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, now lost. The one line inscription in Brāhmī characters of c. 1st century B.C. engraved on the flat shaft of the *gadā* reads—*Payava*(*ti*)*ya* (*dā*)*na Bhāradāyiya kār*(*i*)*ta ti.* It means—'(This image) is the gift of Prajāvatī (and) has been caused to be made by Bhāradvājī'.[11] The inscribed sculpture is of great interest for the fact that though we have not found as yet a principal image of Vishṇu of such an early period, an apparently accessory type of Vishṇuite icon has been discovered, indicating the presence of the cult in the region.

EVIDENCE OF THE MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS

The close association of Mathurā and the surrounding regions with the Kṛishṇa cult has been greatly emphasised in the great epic and the various Purāṇas which narrate the life-story of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. This has also been endorsed by several inscriptions and other archæological data found in the locality. R. P. Chanda noticed some of the inscriptions and deduced interesting conclusions from them regarding the history of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa worship. The reading of one such fragmentary record very ingeniously restored by him informs us that 'a stone gateway and a railing were erected in the sacred shrine (*mahāsthāna*) of the worshipful Vāsudeva at Mathurā during the rule of the *Mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa son of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rājuvula'. It appears that the cult was very much in vogue in the locality during the time of the Śaka Satraps of Northern India.

THE MORA WELL INSCRIPTION

Another fragmentary inscription found in a well at Morā, a village near Mathurā, throws a flood of light on the early history of the Vāsudeva cult. It could not be correctly deciphered at first; but the reading later suggested by H. Lüders has been unanimously accepted. It records that 'in the time of *Mahākshatrapa* Rājuvula's son *Svāmī* (*Mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa) were enshrined, in the stone temple, the images of the worshipful *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis, (which were) five objects of adoration made of stone, radiant as it were with the highest beauty, by one (lady) Toshā (probably of the Śaka race)'.[12] The most relevant enquiry with regard to this inscription is about the identity of 'the worshipful five Vīras of the Vṛishṇis'. Lüders with the help of his friend Alsdorf identified them with five Sāttvata or Vṛishṇi personalities, Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa and Vidūratha. But, excepting Baladeva (Saṅkarshaṇa), the rest are not of so much importance as to require a beautiful stone temple for the enshrinement of their excellent images. It was pointed out by me pretty long ago that a *Vāyu Purāṇa* passage gives one the correct clue to the problem. The Sūta addresses the sages assembled in Naimishāraṇya that he would now tell them the names of the five *manushya-prakṛiti devas* ('gods originally human in nature'), really the well-known five heroes of the dynasty (*paṁchaite vaṁśavīrāḥ*—evidently referring to the Vṛishṇi-vaṁśa); they are: Saṅkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha.[13] This passage from one of the earliest authoritative Purāṇas clearly identifies the five Vṛishṇi-vīras, and there is no doubt that five artistically carved stone images of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva (the two brothers, Saṁkarshaṇa being the older of the two is named first) as well as Pradyumna (Vāsudeva's elder son born of his chief queen Rukmiṇī), Sāmba (his younger son born of his non-Aryan queen Jāmbavatī) and Aniruddha (son of Pradyumna). The tradition about this order of the five Vṛishṇi heroes was so well known that, in the Jaina texts, they are always collectively described as *Baladeva-pamokkhā paṁcha-mahāvīrāḥ*, their authors never caring to put down the other four names in this context. It has already been shown earlier that the hero element played a prominent part in the evolution of the Bhakti cult, and the Mora well epigraph along with the explanatory passage in the Purāṇa leaves little doubt that, in its formative stage, this was its principal feature. The theology of the Pāñcharātrins which will be discussed in the next lecture has not yet much developed (if developed at all) at such an early date, when the *Vīra* concept was predominant. This way of reasoning would enable us to suggest that, wherever Saṅkarshaṇa is named first and Vāsudeva second, the two are *manushya-prakṛiti devas*, the Vīras, and not the Vyūhas of the developed Pāñcharātra theology. R. G. Bhandarkar clearly and H. C. Raychaudhuri seemingly took Saṅkarashaṇa-Vāsudeva of the Nagarī and Nānāghāṭ inscriptions as two of the Vyūhas. The former even used the non-mention of the *Vyūhavāda* of the Pāñcharātrins in the *Bhagavadgītā* and the mention of at least two of the Vyūhas in the Ghosuṇḍī (or, rather Nagarī) inscription, as an argument for placing the text at a much earlier date.

Another issue arising out of Lüders' accepted reading and my interpretation of the Mora well inscription is connected with the worship of Sāmba by the Bhāgavatas. This first century epigraph as well as an early authoritative Purāṇa clearly shows that his image along with those of the other four holy Vṛishṇi Vīras were worshipped, and he enjoyed full ritual honours with his four Vṛishṇi confreres. But there is no doubt that sometime afterwards, probably in the early Gupta period, he fell out of court with the followers of the cult, and scandal and infamy were heaped on this once venerated Vṛishṇi Vīra in such Purāṇas as the *Bhavishya, Varāha,* etc., and the Vyūha doctrine of the Pāñcharātrins developed round the remaining four. But that, even in the comparatively late text of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the characteristic inconography of Sāmba and even that of his wife are given along with those of Pradyumna and his consort (*Sāmbaścha gadāhastaḥ Pradyumnaśchāpabhṛit surūpaścha anayoḥ striyau kheṭakanistriṁśadhāriṇyau—Bṛi. Saṁ.*, Ch. V. 40). Some of the sculptures of the Śaka-Kushāṇa period now in the Mathurā Museum described in the *M. M. Catalogue* as the images of Sūrya or a Kushāṇa chief may, however, stand for those of this once famous Vṛishṇi Vīra. But it is a fact that hardly any description of Sāmba image is found in comparatively late iconographic texts, or any image of the late Gupta or medieval times has been found.[14]

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE EARLY BHĀGAVATA DOCTRINE

R. G. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out that the *Bhagavadgītā* is the earliest exposition of the Bhakti system or the Ekāntika Dharma (*op. cit.*, p. 14). In Section V of Part I of his book (*Vaishṇavism*, etc), he gives us the substance of this great work with apt and necessary comments. He has also discussed its date, and put it on the basis of internal evidence in or about the 4th century B.C. This was also the view of K. T. Telang who translated the text for the Sacred Books of the East. But Raychaudhuri's placing of the *Gītā* a century later is more acceptable. That W.D.P. Hill even after the publication of the first edition of the *E.H.V.S.* would date the text one century later (2nd century B.C.) is a little strange, for his views in respect of many other problems connected with the *Bhagavadgītā* are sound and acceptable. Earlier in this lecture, I have shown that the *Gītā* tradition was perhaps as old, if not older than, the time of Alexander's invasion of India; but that does not mean that the work, as we have it now, was composed in the 4th century B.C.

Many other scholars, both Eastern and Western, have discussed critically the contents of the *Gītā*, and some specially belonging to the second group tried to point out the supposed inconsistencies and contradictory statements made by Lord Kṛishṇa in expounding the tenets of the Ekāyana system to his greatest admirer and friend, Arjuna. Richard Garbe, the German orientalist and an authority on the Sāṅkhya system of Indian philosophy, has even gone to the length of separating analytically the various contents of the 18 cantos in his German edition of this work, and suggesting in the Introduction to his edition that the *Bhagavadgītā* was composed in different periods by different authors. The *Gītā* in his opinion originally expounded the Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy. The Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva cult was united with it by the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. This primitive *Gītā* was redacted later, perhaps during the 2nd century A.D., by a clever Vedāntin. In his analysis of the contents of the work as a whole, Garbe showed that the Vedāntic redactions can be definitely weeded out in order to arrive at its original kernel. But this is an extreme view and was rejected by most other scholars who discussed the problem. The views of many of them mostly Western, were also marred by an unreasonable mental attitude which pretty clearly indicated their ignorance of the Indian view-point and the Indian approach to various problems of life. Another European scholar, W.D.P. Hill, who had close contact with the basic elements of Indian thought and culture by his years of stay at Vārānasī, however, could emphasise the futility and superficiality of the contrary manner of approach. He very rightly suggested as probable the theory that at a certain stage in the development of the Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva cult some brilliant member of the sect composed the *Gītā* with a purpose, using, no doubt, a quantity of older material, but not merely setting the old side by side with the new, rather working up the whole into a simple unity to meet the needs of his time. The sectarian author wished to insist on the absolute supremacy of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva and at the same time to conciliate the enemies of his cult. The poem may be called 'an uncompromising eirenicon'.[15] This, in my opinion, is one of the most sensible and rational approaches to the problem.

THE EKĀNTIKA DOCTRINE

The principal tenet being preached in the *Gītā* by Lord Kṛishṇa to his friend and admirer is his injunction to place his implicit faith and one-souled devotion in him, and to do his own caste and other duties to the best of his ability. Arjuna, as a Kshatriya hero, must have to fight for a good cause, and must not care for the apparent consequences of the war. He should do his duty dispassionately without the least desire for the fruits of his actions, 'for it is only in (rightful) actions that he has the claim, but he has never any such (right) to their fruits' (*karmaṇyevādhikāraste mā phaleshu kadāchana*). When the Lord decries Vedic ritualism in no uncertain terms in the second canto and several other sections of the work, it is only for this aspect of such actions which are always done with particular desires and ends in view. A critical and penetrating study of the *Bhagavadgītā* will reveal that, in the doctrine preached in it, there is no real ban on Śāstric *karma*, and the Vedas are the most venerable section of the *śāstras*. But what is being made home to Arjuna is that all such *karma* should be *sahaja* and *saṅgarahita*. Kṛishṇa not only expatiate on the nature of the true knowledge (*jñāna*) and thus expounds the Sāṅkhya tenets in his own way, but also explains the true character of Yoga which, according to him, is nothing but real skill in one's own prescribed actions (*yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*). He establishes the unity of Sāṅkhya and Yoga, and, in the fifth canto, deprecates those who differentiate between the two and avers that whatever can be gained by Sāṅkhya is also attainable by Yoga (*Sāṅkhya-Yogau pṛithag bālāḥ pravadanti na paṇḍitāḥ* ....*Yat sāṅkhyaiḥ prāpyate sthānaṁ tad yogairapi gamyate*). In this canto entitled *karmasannyāsayoga*, and elsewhere, many scholars find the Lord's unequivocal support for the doctrine of the unity of *jñāna* and *karma* (*jñānakarmasamuchchayavāda*), though a few others (among them the great Śaṅkarāchārya is one) would not say so. But that the Lord sets a high stress on the attainment of true knowledge is fully proved by such statements of his as *Sarvaṁ karmākhilaṁ Pārtha jñāne parisamāpyate*, though the foremost stress is laid by him on the deep one-souled devotion of the individual to Kṛishṇa. He distinguishes four types of virtuous people who resort to him; they are (1) those who come to him in distress (*ārta*), (2) those who approach him in a spirit of enquiry (*jijñāsu*), (3) those who seek emoluments (*arthārthī*) and lastly (4) those who are (really) wise (*jñānī*). 'The relative importance of those is put by him in ascending order, for the last of these four types, the possessors of true knowledge, who are ever united to him and who have one-souled devotion to him, are the best'.[16] But the Lord does not decry the devotees of other gods, for he admits that there are many who out of various desires and lack of true knowledge have recourse to other gods. He is not intolerant of them, but rather makes their faith in their respective deities secure (VII. 20). In another place he says that 'even those who are devoted to other deities and sacrifice to them, possessed of faith, even they do sacrifice to him alone, but not as law ordains' (IX. 23).

All the five aspects of the Pāñcharātra doctrine except one, the Vyūha or emanatory one (the 2nd in the list), are touched in the *Bhagavadgītā*, some with greater and the others with lesser stress. The four aspects are Para, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Archā. The Para or the highest aspect of the lord is expatiated in the work on many occasions and in various ways. He is the same as the Upanishadic Brahman-Ātman and Paramātman; he is also the Purusha, nay the Purushottama. He is also the personal god Īśvara and Parameśvara who is immanent in all (XIII, 27-28); but, as Purushottama, he is not only immanent, but is at the same time transcendant (XV, 18). The Vibhava or Avatāra aspect of the Lord is for the first time expatiated in a very characteristic manner in the fourth canto, in the beginning of which Arjuna expresses his doubt about Kṛishṇa's contemporaneity with Vivasvān (Sun-god). The Lord then says that many are the previous births of him as well as of Arjuna; but he knows them all whereas the latter does not. Though unborn and immutable in essence, though Lord of beings, yet governing Nature which is his own, he comes into being by his delusive powers. He then enunciates the famous dictum that when-so-ever virtue and righteousness decline due to the rise of vice and unrighteousness, it is then that he creates (incarnates) himself for saving the virtuous and for destroying the wrong-doers, (and this) happens age after age (IV, 5-8). The theory of divine incarnation has been explained in a better way in earlier or later texts, and the early Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās of the post-Christian period only developed it in their own way. The Antaryāmin (inner controller) aspect of the Lord is also best expressed in the 61st verse of the 18th canto, where Kṛishṇa avers that 'the Lord dwells in the heart of all beings, and by his elusive power spins them round (as if) set on machines' (*Īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ hṛiddeśe'rjuna tishṭhaṭi* | *bhrāmayan sarvabhūtāni yantrārūḍhāni māyayā*). Brahman-Ātman as Antaryāmin has been expatiated in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (Section VII); but it is here for the first time that this aspect of the personal god (Īśvara) has been so tersely clarified in a single verse. As regards the last or Archā aspect of the one great god Vāsudeva, we may find an implicit hint in the 26th verse of the 9th canto of the *Gītā*. It reads thus: *Patraṁ pushpaṁ phalaṁ toyaṁ yo me bhaktyā prayachchhati tadahaṁ bhaktyupahṛitam aśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ*. It means—'If any earnest soul make offering to me, with devotion, of leaf or flower or fruit or water, that offering of devotion I enjoy'. Here is a very succinct description of ritual worship (*pūjā*) of (the image) of the one Lord, which is in clear contrast to the offering of various oblations to the Vedic gods through the medium of sacrificial fire (Agni). The 'leaf' in this verse most probably, if not certainly, denotes *tulasī-patra* which is most sacred and indispensable in Vishṇu worship.

The *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* thus contains the germs of the subsequent doctrine which has been so elaborately developed and given the form of a system in some later authoritative Pāñcharātra texts. But the great work does even more than that. It contains the most essential features of Brāhmaṇism spun round the cult of Bhakti with Vāsudeva in the centre. Most of its injunctions are at the same time so highly practical and universal in character, that every moral man, to whatever creed or social order he may belong, may follow them to his own advantage in the leading of his temporal or spiritual life. This is one of the many reasons why the 'Song Divine' has been given a high place in their religious literature by the Hindus in general (it is one of the three Prasthānas), and why it has been honoured by many religious thinkers of the world.

REFERENCES

1. *History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. II (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan), p. 431 and note 2; p. 432.
2. *R.V.*, I. 116, 23; I. 117, 7. Here the form of the name appears to be Kṛishṇīya; he is said to have been favoured by the Aśvins. In *R.V.*, VIII. 96, 13-15, Kṛishṇa with an army of 10,000 was living on the bank of the river Aṁśumatī; Indra is said to have killed him with all his retinue.
3. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *E.H.V.S.*, 2nd ed., pp. 88-89.
4. R. G. Bhandarkar, *V.S.M.R.S.* (Strassburg ed., 1913), p. 38.
5. *Uttarādhyāyanasūtram,* ed., Jarl Charpentier, pp. 164-69; *SBE,* XIV, pp. 122-29.
6. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Bhandarkar's observation on this passage is worth quoting: 'If Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of the Maurya dynasty'.
7. McCrindle's *Ptolemy,* Majumdar Sastri's edition, p. 121.
8. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 90-91, Pl. X. The record is in two parts, the first containing 7 lines, and the second 2 lines. Sircar rightly quotes a passage from the *Mahābhārata,* which is very much parallel to the second part. The passage in the Great Epic reads:—

   Damastyāgo'pramādaś cha eteshvamṛitamāhitam (XII. V, 43, 22).
9. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXII, p. 204. The three-line inscription reads thus—

   (1) *Kāritoyaṁ rājñā Bhāgavatena Gājāyanena Pārāśarīputreṇa*
   Sa- (2) *rvatātena Aśvamedhayājinā* (3) *anihatābhyāṁ sarveś-*
   varābhyāṁ pūjāśilāprākāro Nārayaṇavaṭika.
10. R. P. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaishṇava Tradition* (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 5), p. 163. R. G. Bhandarkar clearly demonstrated in his *Vaishṇavism,* etc., pp. 30-35, how the Vedic Vishṇu and the Brāhmaṇic Nārāyaṇa were merged into the epic Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, thus giving shape to the concept of the composite god as the central figure of the Bhakti cult.
11. The inscription was edited and translated by D. C. Sircar in the *Proceedings of Waltair (16th) Session of the Indian History Congress,* 1953, pp. 39-41.

12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 194 ff. The four-line epigraph reads : (i) *Mahakshatrapasa Rajuvulasa putrasa svāmi*...(ii) *bhagavatāṁ Vṛishṇīnāṁ paṁchavīrāṇāṁ pratimāḥ śailadevagṛi*......(iii) *ārchādeśāṁ śailaṁ paṁcha jvalata iva paramavapushā*......... (iv) *yas Toshāyāḥ śailaṁ śrīmadgṛihamatulamudadha samādhāra.* The last part of the fourth line is unintelligible ; but the sense of the rest is quite clear.
13. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 97, 1-2—
    Manushyaprakṛitīn devān kirtyamānān nibodhata |
    Saṁkarshaṇo Vāsudevaḥ Pradyumnaḥ Sāmba eva cha |
    Aniruddhaścha paṁchaite vaṁśavīrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
    My article entitled 'The Holy Pañchavīras of the Vṛishṇis' was published in *J.I.S.O.A.*, 1941.
14. All these points were discussed by me in detail in several of my articles appearing in *J.I.S.O.A.*; cf. Vols. XIV (pp. 42-43) and XVI (p. 60).
15. W.D.P. Hill, The *Bhagavadgītā* (Oxford University Press, London, 1928), p. 16. One can compare this very sensible appraisal of the *Gītā* by a foreigner with a recent characterization of the same work made by D. D. Kosambi, an Indian, in the pages of an issue of the Journal, *East and West*, published from Rome.
16. *Bh. G.*, VII, 16-17—
    Chaturvidhā bhajante māṁ janāḥ sukṛitino'rjuna |
    Ārtto jijñāsurthārthī jñānī cha Bharatarshabha ||
    Teshāṁ jñānī nityayukta ekabhaktirviśishyate |

LECTURE III

VAISHṆAVISM—II

INTRODUCTION : BHĀGAVATISM

Bhāgavatism with the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as its central feature made appreciable progress by the beginning of the Christian era. It has been pointed out in the last lecture that the cult deity Vāsudeva had absorbed in himself the Vedic Vishṇu and the Brāhmaṇic Nārāyaṇa, which is proved by epigraphic data. There is literary evidence in support of the identification of Vāsudeva with Vishṇu. In at least two verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* (IX. 24, 30), Arjuna addresses his friend and guide as Vishṇu, but still the form in which he wishes Kṛishṇa to manifest himself before him in the eleventh canto (Viśvarūpyoga) is not Vaishṇava but Aiśvara. This shows that the particular name of the cult has yet to make its formal appearance. The Vishṇugāyatrī of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 11, 1) and the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad*, both of the last 2 or 3 centuries before the Christain era, as it has been shown, proves that Nārāyaṇa along with Vishṇu had been indentified with Vāsudeva. R. G. Bhandarkar has very effectively demonstrated how the concept of this cosmic god had been gradually absorbed in Hari-Kṛishṇa on the basis of the epic and Purāṇic literature of the early post-Christian period.[1] In the story of the Vaṭapatraśāyin as given in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 188-89), the sage Mārkaṇḍeya tells Yudhishṭhira that Janārdana (Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa), his relative, is no other than Nārāyaṇa. The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Great Epic also emphasises in a very clear manner the oneness of Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Nārāyaṇa aspect of the cult deity was given concrete form in the Ananta- or Śesha-śayana type of the Vaishṇava images of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. In the medieval Vaishṇava temples of Southern India, this icon-type, known by the name of Raṅgasvāmī or Raṅganātha, is the principal object of worship (*archā*) enshrined in the main sanctum.

The other constituent unit in the composition of the cult-deity, according to R. G. Bhandarkar, was the Gopāla-Kṛishṇa element which emphasised the incidents in the early life of Kṛishṇa as a playful mischievous cowherd boy in the pastoral settlement of Vraja. This aspect of Kṛishṇa's character does not certainly fit at all with the character of epic Kṛishṇa who though human in nature was deified long before the beginning of the Christian era for his great ideal of establishing virtue and righteousness in Bhāratavarsha. Lord Kṛishṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which is an early part of the Great Epic, gives us this picture of himself, which ill accords with the many incidents in his early life as narrated in its supplement (*khila*) *Harivaṁśa* and some comparatively late Vishṇuite Purāṇas. Bhandarkar has clearly proved how some such stories put into the mouth of the Chedi king Śiśupāla in the Sabhāparva of the *Mahābhārata* are definite interpolations. There is some similarity between a number of stories told in later texts about child Kṛishṇa and those connected with the early life of Jesus Christ, and this similarity according to him was not fortuitious. His positive suggestion has been that the foreign tribe of the Ābhīras who migrated to India in the early centuries of the Christian era brought with them the many stories connected with the early life of their shepherd god Jesus Christ, and many of these in course of time were transferred to the Kṛishṇaite mythology. A faint similarity between one or two Indian dialectical forms of the word *Kṛishṇa* and *Christ* might have helped this transference. The erotic element in the youthful-Kṛishṇa story might have originated at a later time due to the loose morals of the Ābhīra women, an advantage of which was taken over by the Indians.[2] This view has been refuted by H. C. Raychaudhuri who has shown that there is nothing to show that the incoming Ābhīras were upholders of the Christian faith, that barring the apocryphal legend of St. Thomas there is no evidence that ancient India had any connection with Christ and Christianity before the advent of the Nestorian Mission into the country in the early

Gupta period, and that some stories about the youthful Gopāla-Kṛishṇa at least might have had their origin in the myths about Vishṇu recorded in the *Ṛigveda*.[3] Archaeological evidence also does not support Bhandarkar's hypothesis. One of the earliest representations of the story of Kṛishṇa's birth in which Vasudeva, the father of Kṛishṇa, is shown crossing the Yamunā with his infant son to take him to Gokula, a multi-hooded snake shelterihg them, has been found at Mathurā (it is now an exhibit in the local Museum) ; it is a fragmentary relief in red sand stone and is dated in the first or second century A.D.[4] This shows that stories connected with the early life of Kṛishṇa were current sometime before the first or second century A.D., and it will not be quite justifiable to say that they were not indigenous to India, but were borrowals from Christianity.

TRANSFORMATION OF BHĀGAVATISM INTO PĀÑCHARĀTRA

It is quite impossible in the present state of our knowledge to determine the time when the composite Bhāgavatism was transformed into the Pāñcharātra. It has already been pointed out that one of the distinctive tenets of the latter was the doctrine of the Vyūhas (Vyūhavāda) which has no place in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The inscriptions of the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and early 1st century A.D. do not refer to it ; the Mora well record as well as the *Vāyu Purāṇa* passage on the other hand mentions the worship of the five Vīras of the Vṛishṇi race. Some scholars find the earliest reference to the Vyūha doctrine in the *Brahmasūtra* (c. 3rd century B.C.). But it should be noted that it is only in the later commentaries on it by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja that we find clear mention of the Vyūhavāda. There is one passage in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, which may contain the earliest allusion to the Chaturvyūha. It was R. G. Bhandarkar again who drew the attention of scholars to this enigmatic passage. Patañjali while commenting on Pāṇini's *sūtra* (VI. 3, 5) and explaining the form *ātmachaturtha* cites *Janārdanastāmachaturtha eva* meaning 'Janārdana with himself as the fourth', and takes *ātmachaturtha* here as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (*ātmā chaturtho'sya*). Bhandarkar writes that 'if Janārdana with three companions may be taken to allude to the Vyūhas, then it must be understood that the four Vyūhas, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha were known in Patañjali's time' (*op. cit.*, p. 13). But he rightly doubts this interpretation, and avers on the authority of the Ghosundi epigraph that at least two Vyūhas, Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, were known in the 2nd century B.C. It has, however, been pointed out by me that the two gods mentioned there are Vīras and not Vyūhas, and on the same line of argument it may be said that whatever might be the meaning of the *Mahābhāshya* passage in question, it may not refer to the Vyūhas. The Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nāyanikā, queen of the third Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi, contains invocation of various gods, among whom the names of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva are placed in the correct dynastic order, showing that there also they appear in the role of the Vīras and not the Vyūhas. When, however, even a Pāñcharātra text of a much later date, *Vishṇu Saṁhitā* by name, refers to the Chaturvyūhas, Vāsudeva is put first followed by Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha (67. 2—*Vāsudevāya Saṁkarshaṇāya Pradyumnāy Āniruddhāya*). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* invocation to one god Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa in his combined Chaturvyūha form (*Namaḥ Kṛishṇāya Rāmāya Vasudevasutāya cha | Pradyumnāy Āniruddhāya Yadūnāṁ pataye namaḥ*) also substantiates this suggestion.

THE PĀÑCHARĀTRA : ITS MEANING

The word *Pāñcharātra* is very difficult to explain. Several suggestions have been made regarding its exact significance, none of which seems to be satisfactory. Bhandarkar draws our attention to a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 6, 1) where the god Purusha Nārāyaṇa is said to have conceived the idea of the Pāñcharātra Sattra (a sacrifice continued for five nights) for obtaining superiority over and pervading all beings. This is undoubtedly a development of the Purushasūkta idea (*R.V.*, X. 90, the seer of which is Nārāyaṇa himself); but it cannot be clearly connected with the particular cult-name though Schrader finds its distant connection with it. There

डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय २

are also such fanciful interpretations of the terms, as 'the night, i.e. obscuration, of the five other religions systems'(?), or 'the system, cooking or destroying the night, i.e. ignorance', etc. It has also been attempted to connect the name with the five sacraments (branding and other rites preparatory to worship) or the five daily observances of the Pāñcharātra *pūjā*, viz. *abhigamana* (going towards the deity), *upādāna* (collecting materials necessary for worship, *ijyā* (offering of the materials to the *vigraha* or image of the deity), *svādhyāya* (reading of the *mantras* and requisite *śāstras*) and *yoga* (meditation and consequent union with the deity). But these attempts are all arbitrary, and do not throw any light on the problem. Schrader thinks it possible that 'the name is only connected with the first (five ?) of the ten topics, namely the peculiar God-conception of the Pāñcharātras'. He also draws his readers' attention in this connection to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reference to the Pāñcharātra Sattra just mentioned, and suggests that 'the sect took its name' from the central dogma which was the Pāñcharātra Sattra of Nārāyaṇa philosophically regarded as 'the five-fold self-manifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Archā forms'. The *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, one of the early authoritative Pāñcharātra texts, states at the end of its eleventh chapter that the Lord (Vāsudeva) Himself framed out of the original *śāstra* "the system (*tantra*) called Pāñcharātra describing His (five-fold) nature (known as) Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc.", and "that highest Will of Vishṇu called Sudarśana, through which He split into five appearing five-mouthed".[5] There is no doubt that in this way of explaining the word full use is made of its first part, *pāñcha* (or *pañcha*) ; but the meaning of its second part *rātra* is not quite clear.

ESSENTIALS OF THE PĀÑCHARĀTRA DOCTRINE

The essential part of the Pāñcharātra tenets starts with the ideology of the pure creation preceding the intermediate creation, from which the material creation takes place. The eternally existing Lord Vāsudeva-Vishṇu has the germs of all creation nascent in him in the time of Paurushī Rātri (Cosmic Night) or

Pralaya. He is the Para, the first of his five-fold aspects, in which the Pāñcharātrin meditates upon his God. He does not take apparently any active part in the beginning of creation, but projects his will to his Śakti, Śrī-Lakshmī. In the eighth or last part (*yāma*) or the cosmic night, the great Śakti of the Lord awakes through His command in her dual aspect of *kriyā* (acting) and *bhūti* (becoming), Force and Matter. The divine will in conjunction with the dual aspects of Lakshmī, Ichchhāśakti, Kriyāśakti and Bhūtiśakti (in Western philosophy these three powers or causes are named Efficient Cause, Instrumental Cause and Material Cause) creates the six ideal *Guṇas* which are *jñāna, aiśvarya, śakti, bala, vīrya* and *tejas;* this is Śuddha-Sṛishṭi (Pure Creation) from which the other forms of creation take place by stages. The six ideal *Guṇas* fall under two main groups of three each; the first three (*jñāna* or knowledge, *aiśvarya* or lordship and *śakti* or potency) forming the group of *viśramabhūmayaḥ* (stages of rest), and the remaining three (*bala* or strength, *vīrya* or virility and *tejas* or splendour) make up the second group of *śramabhūmayaḥ* (stages of action). Each of the ideal *guṇas* of the one group has an innate propensity to pair with one of the other, and thus *jñāna* pairs with *bala, aiśvarya* with *vīrya,* and *śakti* with *tejas.* This is a further advance in the process of pure creation, and the pairing off of the *guṇas* of opposite groups is at the root of the word *Vyūha* (shoving asunder—*vi-ūha*) denoting the second aspect of the God of the Pāñcharātrins. The three pairs of the ideal *guṇas* resort to three divine entities—Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, mythologically the three human relations of Vāsudeva who in his *Para* as well as his *Vyūha* aspect is the resting Place of all the six (*Shāḍguṇyavigrahaṁ*). In the systematised from of the *Vyūhavāda* of the Pāñcharātrins, Para Vāsudeva is the fountainhead of the Chaturvyūha, i.e. Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, each succeeding Vyūha emanating from its immediate predecessor. Grierson puts the emanatory process of creation in this way. 'The Bhagavat Vāsudeva in the act of creation produces from Himself, not only *prakṛiti*, the indiscreet primal matter of the Sāṅkhyas, but also a *Vyūha* or phase of conditioned spirit called Saṅkarshaṇa. From the combination of Saṅkarshaṇa and *prakṛiti* spring *manas* corresponding to the Sāṅkhya *buddhi* or itelligence, and also a secondary phase of conditioned spirit called Pradyumna. From the association of Pradyumna with *manas* spring the Sāṅkhya *Ahaṅkāra* or consciousness, also a tertiary phase of conditioned spirit known as Aniruddha. From the association of Aniruddha with *ahaṅkāra* spring the Sāṅkhya Mahābhūtas or elements with their qualities,........' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 261). The *Gītā* perhaps contains a faint reference to this process (as has been suggested by H. C. Raychaudhuri) when it makes the Lord say that the five elements, the mind, *buddhi* and egoism are the eight *aparā prakṛitis* of Himself (VII. 4). But there is no doubt that the ideology of the Vyūhavāda had not been in existence at the time of the *Gītā*.

It is to be noted that, in this Vyūha doctrine, Vāsudeva is invariably given the order of precedence, his elder brother Saṁkarshaṇa taking the second place as an emanatory aspect of his younger brother. It is also to be known that though, in each of the three primary emanations, two ideal qualities are pre-eminently manifest (in Saṁkarshaṇa *jñāna* and *bala*, in Pradyumna *vīrya* and *aiśvarya*, and in Aniruddha *śakti* and *tejas*), they also individually possess the four other *guṇas*, but only in an incipient manner. The four Vyūhas including the Vyūha Vāsudeva are the same as the four Vīras from whose company the fifth Vṛishṇi Vīra Sāmba is left out. Even when the number of these four primary forms is raised to 24 in the following way, the inclusion of Sāmba is not considered. From the primary four emanate twelve subsidiary Vyūhas : Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava from Vāsudeva ; Govinda, Vishṇnu and Madhusūdana from Saṁkarshaṇa ; Trivikrama, Vāmana and Śrīdhara from Pradyumna ; and Hṛishīkeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara from Aniruddha. To this totality of 16 are added eight Vidyeśvaras also evolved in emanatory process. These are Purushottama, Janārdana, Adhokshaja, Upendra, Achyuta, Kṛishṇa, Nṛisiṁha and Hari, and the Vyūhas, Sub-Vyūhas and Vidyeśvaras all taken together make up the Chaturviṁśati-mūrtis of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. Their iconographic characterisation will be commented on shortly afterwards.

One thing to be specially observed in connection with the development of the Vyūha concept of the Lord in the Pāñcharātra theology is that it must have taken a pretty long time to attain its full form. Schrader has given a detailed account of this development (the brief summary of which given above is mainly based on it) on the basis of some of the authoritative Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās and Tantras like the *Ahirbudhnya, Mahāsanatkumāra* and *Vishvaksena Saṁhitās*, and *Lakshmī* and *Pādma Tantras*, etc., all of which were composed sometime later than the beginning of the Christian era. It will also be presently shown that whatever forms of Vyūha images have so far been discovered, the date of none of them goes before the Gupta period, most of them belonging to the early and late medieval ages. On the basis of the testimony of such explicit literary and archaeological data, it is hardly possible to support H. C. Raychaudhuri's contention that 'the disappearance of the independent worship of the *Vyūhas* excepting Vāsudeva was perhaps one of the first fruits of the growing popularity of the *Avatāras*. The ousting of the Vyūhas by the Avatāras was one of the characteristic signs of the transformation of Bhāgavatism into Vaishṇavism' (*op. cit.*, p. 176). But it must be said that, at the time when Raychaudhuri wrote it, the correct reading and interpretation of the Mora well inscription were not known.

THE VIBHAVAS

The Vibhavas or the incarnatory forms of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu collectively stand for the third aspect of the one god of the Pāñcharātrins. It is certainly based on the *Gītā* doctrine of the Lord's creating himself through his own power of delusion for particular ends in view. The theory of incarnation of the divinity is much older than the *Gītā* (it is to be found in a not fully developed state in the mythical accounts of Prajāpati in some of the Brāhmaṇas and even in some passages of the *Ṛigveda* connected with Vishṇu, Indra and the Aśvins); but it is certainly in the *Bhagavadgītā* that it has been postulated with so much precision and skill. The author rightly desists from specifying the exact number of the Avatāras, emphasising that the Lord has to come into being age after age whenever occasion arises for his appearance. Several other passages of the Great Epic, and some Purāṇas attempt to specify the number which is different in different contexts. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, on one occasion at least lays down that 'the Avatāras are innumerable' (*Avatārā hyasaṅkheyāḥ*), though on other occasions it tries to lay down 22 or 23 as the specific number. The Pāñcharātra texts not only write about human and animal forms of divine incarnations, but also refer to vegetable forms. The *Vishvaksena Saṁhitā* chooses the crooked mango tree of the Daṇḍaka forest as an instance of this class of Avatāras.

Two of the earliest and authoritative Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās, the *Sāttvata* and the *Ahirbudhnya*, enumerate 39 Vibhavas (the *Ahirbudhnya* seems to have borrowed the list from the *Sāttvata*). The list contains the following names; (1) Padmanābha, (2) Dhruva, (3) Ananta, (4) Śaktyātman, (5) Madhusūdana, (6) Vidyādhideva, (7) Kapila, (8) Viśvarūpa, (9) Vihaṅgama, (10) Kroḍātman, (11) Baḍavāvaktra, (12) Dharma, (13) Vāgīśvara, (14) Ekārṇavaśāyin, (15) Kamaṭheśvara, (16) Varāha, (17) Narasiṁha, (18) Piyūshaharaṇa, (19) Śrīpati, (20) Kāntāman, (21) Rāhujit, (22) Kālanemighna, (23) Pārijātahara, (24) Lokanātha, (25) Śāntātman, (26) Dattātreya, (27) Nyagrodhaśāyin, (28) Ekaśṛiṅgatanu, (29) Vāmanadeha, (30) Trivikrama, (31) Nara, (32) Nārāyaṇa, (33) Hari, (34) Kṛishṇa, (35) Paraśurāma, (36) Rāma Dhanurdhara, (37) Vedavid, (38) Kalkin and (39) Pātālaśayana. By analysing this enumeration with the help of the Avatāra list given in the Nārāyaṇīya (Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*) and some passages in a few Pāñcharātra texts and Purāṇas, one can recognise not only the stereotyped number of the Daśāvatāras (Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Raghava Rāma Balarāma, Buddha and Kalkin), sometimes under covert appellations, but also at least two Vyūhas (Saṁkarshaṇa-Balarāma in the guise of Ananta and Pradyumna in that of Kāntātman), a few Sub-Vyūhas (such as Padmanābha, Madhusūdana and others), and possibly a few Vidyeśvaras. Schrader rightly recognised nine of the ten Avatāras of the stereotyped list in numbers 3 (Ananta), 15 (Kamaṭheśvara-Kūrma), 16 (Varāha), 17 (Narasiṁha), 28 (Ekaśṛiṅgatanu-Matsya), 29-30 (Vāmanadeha-Trivikrama), 35 (Paraśurāma), 36 (Rāma Dhanurdhara=Rāghava Rāma), and 38 (Kalkin). He did not find Buddha in this list ; but Buddha can definitely be recognised in Śāntātman (No. 25 in the Sāttvata List) who was identified by him either with Sanatkumāra (Sanaka) or Nārada the expounder of the Sāttvata system. *The Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, as has been shown in my first lecture, refers to Buddha as Śānta (Praśāntamanā) and the epithet is nothing but a synonym of Śāntātman. The *Agni Purāṇa*, a text of a later date, actually uses the epithet Śāntātmā while referring to Buddha in its description of his image—*Śāntātmā lambakarṇaścha gaurāṅgaśchāmbarāvṛitaḥ*, '*Śāntātmā*, i.e., Buddha (is to be shown with) long (pendulous) ears, (is) white-complexioned and covered with garments (the *trichīvara* of the monks)'. The *Sāttvata Saṁhitā*, one of the earliest of the Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās probably composed in the 4th century A.D., thus refers to Buddha, the founder of one of the heterodox systems, as one of the Avatāras. Its inclusion of Vāgīśvara and Lokanātha in the List (Nos. 13 and 24) may or may not refer to the Mahāyāna deities of the same names.[7]

Antaryāmin and Archā, the two remaining aspects of the Lord, are also regarded by the Pāñcharātrins as Avatāras. The *Vishvaksena Saṁhitā* lays down that the former is Aniruddha, the inner ruler of all embodied souls, and 'is the mysterious power which appears as instinct and the like, and which as the smokeless flame seated in the lotus of the heart plays an important part in the *yoga* practice'. The *archās* or images of the Vyūha and Vibhava aspects of the Lord, and their various accessories were after their due consecration according to the proper Pāñcharātra rites were great objects of veneration, and the *Vishvaksena Saṁhitā* lays down exhaustive rules for their worship. The images were euphemistically described as the very auspicious (*śrī*) *vigrahas* (bodies—*tanu*, *vapus*, *bera*, etc.) of the Lord and his various forms. The Pāñcharātra devotees were principally responsible for the popularisation of the practice of image-worship; but the consecrated images were at the same time idealised symbols of the various aspects of the god, the recipient of their one-souled devotion (*ekātmikā bhakti*). In contrast with Śaivism, the other major Brāhmaṇical cult which regarded Śivaliṅga as the all important emblem to be almost invariably enshrined in the main sanctum of the Śaiva temples, the Pāñcharātra Vaishṇavas set up there the images of one or other of the various forms of the Lord, often anthropomorphic and sometimes theriomorphic or therio-anthropomorphic. The Śālagrāma stone, the only chief approved emblem of the god Hari, is to be worshipped in cases where images are not available. But the Śālagrāmas are not for enshrinement in the main sanctum which should contain a Vigraha. The late Pāñcharātra text, *Nārada-Pāñcharātra* (*Bhāradvāja Saṁhitā Pariśishṭa*), lays down that Hari is to be always worshipped in images and that no Pāñcharātrin should stay for a single day, or take food and drink in a house or a village in which there are no images of Vishṇu.[8] This mental attitude brought in its train sectarian exclusiveness in the religious outlook of the Pāñcharātrins, which is also emphasised by the same text in this manner : 'No food ought to be taken (by a Pāñcharātrin) in the house of one, where there are images of other divinities but that of Janārdana, even if the householder be well-versed in the Vedāntas' (*ibid.*, IV. 31). This sort of approach to the Pāñcharātra god and his image is in striking contrast to the catholicity of spirit to be found in the much earlier *Bhagavadgītā* expounding the Bhaktimārga of the Ekāntika school.[9] Another thing to be noted in this connection is that, though utmost veneration was offered to the Śrīvigrahas by the devotees of this school, they had scant respect for those Brāhmaṇas who acted as temple-priests. They were known as Devala-Brāhmaṇa and their social position was low even in the estimate of Manu, the great law-giver.[10] The reason for this low social status is given in the *Nārada-Pāñcharātra*. It says, that 'one should never use the images of the god as the means of their livelihood' (IV. 29—*na chāpyarchopajīvikaḥ*).

PĀÑCHARĀTRA LITERATURE

It will not be possible in the short space of this lecture to expatiate on the other features of the Pāñcharātra theology which grew up in course of time, and which was expounded in a vast bulk of literature. Schrader compiled the names of 210 Pāñcharātra texts variously classed as Saṁhitās, Tantras and Āgamas, on the basis of lists given in the *Kāpiñjala, Pādma, Vishṇu* and *Hayaśīrsha Saṁhitās* and in the *Agni Purāṇa*, and remarked that 'to the above 210 names have to be added those of a few Saṁhitās which are extant, but apparently not included in any of the lists'.[11] The number, as he himself says, is suspect, for the same name being given to 'two or even more different works is nothing unusual in the Āgamic literature' (*op. cit.*, p. 13) ; but this remark does in no way diminish its bulk, but rather increases it. This vastness envisages a long period of time through which the literature was composed in different parts of India. The regions in the extreme north of India, probably the secluded valley of Kashmir and its surroundings, appear to have been the venue of the composition of the early authoritative Saṁhitās, and this is substantiated by the evidence of a large number of peculiar composite images of the Chaturvyūha (Vishṇu-chaturmūrti) found there. The *Spandapradīpikā* of Utpala Vaishṇava, a Kashmirian of the tenth century A.D., mentions by name such early Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās as *Jayākhya* (*Śrījaya, Jaya*), *Haṁsapārameśvara, Vaihāyasa, Śrīkālaparā* and probably a few others, all of which (and many more not mentioned by him) must have been composed some time before the eighth century A.D. at the latest. Some of the later Saṁhitās like *Īśvara, Upendra, Bṛihadbrahma* and a few others were of South Indian origin, as their internal evidence shows. Schrader groups the bulk of the Pāñcharātra literature under three classes: '(1) the original Saṁhitās, to which belong most of the extant works ; (2) the much smaller South Indian class comprising the legitimate descendants of class I ; and (3) the still smaller class, North and South Indian, of apocryphal or spurious Saṁhitās' (*op. cit.*, p. 19). After a careful consideration of the internal data by way of references and crossreferences collected from the early Saṁhitās, Schrader fixes the tentative order of some of the texts in this way :—1. *Paushkara, Vārāha, Brahma* (order uncertain) ; 2. *Sāttvata* ; 3. *Jaya* ; 4. *Ahirbudhnya* ; 5. *Parameśvara* ; 6. *Sanatkumāra, Parama, Padmodhava, Mahendra, Kāṇva* (order uncertain) ; 7. *Pādma* ; 8. *Īśvara*. All these are placed by him before 800 A.D. But these are only a few in contrast with the large number of names incorporated in the big list compiled by him in his *Introduction*.

CONTENTS OF THE PĀÑCHARATRA TEXTS

The ideal Pāñcharātra texts deal with four principal topics which are discussed in four parts (*pādas*). These are *jñāna* (knowledge), *yoga* (concentration), *kriyā* (making) and *charyā* (conduct or doing). These identical topics are dealt with in the South Indian Śaiva Āgamas rendered there in Tamil as *sarithai* (*charyā*), *kirikai* (*kriyā*), *yokam* (*yoga*) and *ñānam* (*jñāna*). The *kriyā* and *charyā* topics are treated more exhaustively in most of the Saṁhitās than the other two, and they generally contain elaborate rules for image-making and temple-building, and regulations for religious and social observances (daily rites, festivals, etc.). There are comparatively few texts, however, which contain all these four topics, and when some of them do, their treatment is unequal. The *Pādma Tantra*, a representative text of this nature, allots as many as 376 pages to *Charyā-pāda*, 215 pages to *Kriyā-pāda*, and only 45 and 11 pages respectively to *Jñāna-pāda* and *Yoga-pāda*, thus giving much comparative importance to the practical part of the religion. In the every day life of a sectarian devotee, these topics mattered most, and thus much relative importance was accorded to them. But exceptions to this norm are not wanting, when *yoga, jñāna* and even *prapatti*, absolute self-surrender of a devotee to his personal god, are treated with great elaboration.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY CENTURIES OF CHRISTIAN ERA

Some inscriptions of the first century A.D. and one or two reliefs of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. have been mentioned earlier in the second lecture in connection with the progress of Bhāgavatism in several regions of Northern India during the period. The Nānāghāṭ inscription has also been referred to, which shows that Saṅkarshaṇa-Vāsudeva worshtp had spread to the Mahārāshṭra country before that time. The China inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Yajña-Sātakarṇi proves that Bhāgavatism was known in Andhradeśa. But these are mostly short records which only give us the names of the creed or its central deities incidentally. The eight-line rock inscription found at Tushām in the Hissār District of the Panjab, assignable to the early Gupta period (c. 4th century A.D.), gives us a little more elaborate information about the cult. It records 'the construction of two reservoirs and a house (temple) for the use of the *Bhagavat* by one Somatrāta, the great-grandson of *Āryya-Sāttvata-Yogāchārya-Bhagavadbhakta* Yaśastrāta, the grandson of *Āchārya* Vishṇutrāta and the son of *Āchārya* Vasudatta begotten on Rāvaṇi, and the younger brother of the *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya*, Yaśastrāta'.[12] The inscription characteristically refers to the three generations of Ārya-Sāttvata-Yogāchāryas; the first part of line 3 of the epigraph describes the great-grandfather Yaśastrāta as *anekapurushābhyāgata*, i.e., 'descendant of many preceding generations', and it may also refer to a continuous line of Sāttvata-Yogāchāryas existing from a much earlier period, probably from the beginging of the Christian era. We are not quite certain whether this family of Sāttvata-Yogāchāryas of the locality followed the Pāñcharātra-vidhi; but it is presumable that the beginnings of this phase of the cult had been made during the period. The poetic description of Vishṇu as 'a mighty bee on the waterlily-like face of Jāmbavatī' clearly shows that the identification of the Sāttvata hero Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa with Vishṇu had been fully established pretty long before the 4th century A.D. The epithet *Ārya* in the inscription also proves that the system though described as un-Vedic in some early and late texts was Aryanised in the 4th century A.D.

The wide range of the prevalence of the Bhāgavata creed in different corners of India in the immediate pre-Gupta or the early Gupta period and afterwards is fully proved by further archaeological data. The sculptured dood-jambs of c. 4th century A.D. discovered at Mandor near Jodhpur in Rajasthan contain several reliefs illustrating a few Kṛishṇāyaṇa scenes, such as (1) the uplifting of the mountain Govardhana by Kṛishṇa (Govardhanadhārī Kṛishṇa), (2) infant Kṛishṇa stealing butter, (3) baby Kṛishṇa upturning the cart with his tiny legs (*śakaṭabhaṅga*), (4) the slaying of the ass-demon Dhenuka by Balarāma, and (5) the subjugation of the Nāga Kāliya by the divine boy Kṛishṇa.[13] It may be mentioned in this connection that illustration of many such Kṛishṇāyaṇa and also Rāmāyaṇa scenes on different sections of the early Vaishṇava temples of Northern and Southern India came to be the norm from this time till a late period. Such scenes have been recognised in the Daśāvatāra structural temple at Deogadh (Central India), Vaishṇava cave shrine at Bādāmi (Mahārāshṭra), temple of Pāhārpur, Rajshahi District, North Bengal, and at many other places. An inscription in Brāhmī characters of the 4th century A.D. engraved in a cave of the Susuniyā hill (near Bankura, Bengal) records that the cave with the discus mark on it was the work of one *Mahārāja* Śrī-Chandravarman, 'the foremost slave of Chakrasvāmin', (who) dedicated it to his Lord and who was the son of *Mahārāja* Siṁhavarman, king of Pushkaraṇa.

RELIGION OF THE EARLY GUPTA RULERS

The Bhāgavata cult was greatly patronised by the Imperial Gupta rulers, most of whom were *Paramabhāgavatas*. Chandragupta I and Samudragupta were possibly Bhāgavatas, though the latter's personal religion was modified to some extent. He was himself regarded as a great god equal to Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Āntaka-sama*), 'who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind, (but was otherwise) a god' (*Loka-samaya-kkriy-ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya loka-dhāmno devasya*), and 'who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the protection of good and destruction of evil' (*sāddhv-asādh-ūdaya-pralaya-hetu-purushasy āchintasya*). We quote these passages from the Allahabad pillar inscription of the great emperor; the last of these passages is very interesting for it not only describes the ruler as incomprehensible like the god Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, but also the saviour of the virtuous and punisher of the wicked like him (cf. the *Gītā,* IV. 6). Samudragupta was also a believer in the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa, for he performed Aśvamedha sacrifice as the much less-known king Sarvatāta did, though both of them were presumably Bhāgavatas. Chandragupta II Vikramāditya was unquestionably a *Paramabhāgavata,* who has been almost invariably described as such on his coins and inscriptions. Some of the unique gold coins of this Gupta emperor discovered at Bayana (Bharatpur, Rājasthān) show on their reverse the figure of the four-armed Vishṇu giving the *chakra* (discus) to him, and contain the epithet *Chakra-Vikrama* ('one who is powerful due to his being in possession of the discus'). Kumarāgupta I Mahendrāditya, his son and successor, was also a *Paramabhāgavata,* as the legends on many of his silver coins and some of his gold coins show; but he is also described as *Paramadaivata,* 'a great devotee of (the images of the) gods'. That he had a soft corner in his heart for the god Kārttikeya is proved by the reverse device of his peacock-type gold coins showing Kārttikeya's figure, possibly a replica of the very image enshrined in a temple built by him in the royal capital. There is no absolute certainty about the creeds of many of the succeeding Gupta monarchs, though some of them like Skandagupta were Bhāgavatas by faith. The Garuḍadhvaja emblem on their coins alone would not always indicate their cult affiliation; the coins of Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya who is described in the Gunaighar copper-plate inscription as a devotee of Śiva (*bhagavan-Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta*) bear also this emblem.

The Gupta inscriptions fully prove that the Bhāgavata creed was much current in various parts of the Gupta empire along with other cults. Many of them record the construction of temples for Vāsudeva-Vishṇu described as Chakrabhṛt, Janārdana, Śārṅgin, Muradvish, etc. The rock-cut cave temple at Udayagiri near Bhilsa was a Bhāgavata shrine, for the inscription dated in the Gupta year 82 (402 A.D.) recording the pious gift of one Sanakānika ... ḍhala, a feudatory of Chandragupta II, is engraved over two reliefs, one being that of the four-armed Vishṇu. On a part of the outer facade of this shrine is carved a huge figure of the Varāha Avatāra with rows of tiny figures, some of them correctly identified by Mrs. Debala Mitra as the 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas and 8 Vasus. The dynamic figure of the Varāha incarnation along with those of the others distinctly indicates the Gupta artist's conception of Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa as Viśvarūpa described in the 11th canto of the *Gītā* as sustaining among other beings the Rudras, Ādityas, Vasus and Sādhyas (*Rudr-Ādityā Vasavo ye cha Sādhyāḥ*, XI. 22). The Meharauli iron pillar inscription (now set up in the courtyard of the Qutb Mosque) was originally erected by a great king named Chandra (justifiably identified by many with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya) as the Garuḍadhvaja of Vishṇu on a hill called Vishṇupada. The much damaged Mandasor rock inscription of one *Mahārāja* Naravarman, probably a feudatory of the same Gupta emperor, dated in the year 461 of the Mālava era (404 A.D.), is evidently a Bhāgavata record. It begins with an invocation to the Purusha with one thousand heads and immeasurable soul who sleeps on the waters of the four oceans as on a couch (*Sahasra-śirase tasmai Purushāyāmitātmane* | *chatus-samudra-paryyaṅkatoya-nidrālave namaḥ*), and in line 8 mentions Vāsudeva as 'the abode of the universe, unmeasurable, unborn and lord of all' (*Vāsudevaṁ jagad-vāsam aprameyam ajaṁ vibhum*). This concept of Purusha-Vāsudeva is the same as that of Purusha-Nārāyaṇa, one of the constituents of the cult deity described earlier. During the rule of Naravarman's son Viśvavarman, a feudatory of Kumāragupta I, one Mayurākshaka, a minister of the former, and his two sons, Vishṇubhaṭa and Haribhaṭa, caused to be built a lofty temple of Vishṇu on the bank of the Garggarā (Jhalawar, Central India) in the Mālava year 480 (423 A.D.). Mayūrākshaka is described as having 'his most extreme devotion towards the bearer of the discus and the club' (*parāñcha bhaktiṁ vikkhyāpayannuparì chakra-gadādharasya*, line 18). The Bhitari (Ghazipur District, U.P.) red sandstone pillar inscription of Skandagupta's time records the installation of the image of

Śārṅgin ('wielder of the Śārṅga bow', another name of Vishṇu) by the emperor himself to the memory of his father. The Baigram (Bogra District, North Bengal) copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 128 (447 A.D.) mentions the grant of some land by two men named Bhoyila anh Bhāskara for the performance of daily worship in and occasional repairs to the temple of Govindasvāmin built by their father. Two other inscriptions of Skandagupta's time, one found at Junāgaḍh (Saurāshṭra) and the other at Gaḍhwā (Allahabad), refer respectively to the erection of a temple of Vishṇu as Chakrabhṛit by one Chakrapālita, the governor of Surāshṭravishaya, and to the installation of an image of Anantasvāmin with some grant to him under another name, Chitrakūṭasvāmin. A Damodarpur copper-plate as well as the Eran stone pillar inscription proves the existence of Bhāgavatism in Eastern and Central India, the former recording the building of two temples for the deities Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin, the latter the setting up of the *dhvāja* (Garuḍadhvaja) of the god Janārdana by *Mahārāja* Mātṛivishṇu along with his brother Dhạnyavishṇu. Mātṛivishṇu is described as 'excessively devoted to the Divine one' (*atyantabhagavadbhakta*). Bhāgavatism flourished at Earn even at the time of its being ruled over by Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa king, for the inscription on the chest of a colossal Varāha Avatāra (figured as a gigantic animal) found there records the construction of a stone temple of the Lord Nārāyaṇa by the above-mentioned Dhanyavishṇu.

BHĀGAVATISM IN THE LATE GUPTA AND EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIODS

The gradual decline and downfall of the Gupta empire did not adversely affect the fortunes of the creed. The Barābar hill cave inscription of the Maukhari king Anantavarman (*CII*, III, pp. 221-23) records the installation of a beautiful image of god Kṛishṇa in the cave shrine of Pravaragiri (old name of Barābar near Gaya). That the Uchchakalpa kings Jayanātha, Śarvanātha and a few others patronised the cult is proved by some copper-plate inscriptions (494-513 A.D.) found at Khoh (Baghelkhand regton, Central India), which record their Bhāgavata endowments. A copper-plate grant to the shrine of the goddess Pishṭapurikā (a name of Lakshmī) by the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṅkshobha begins with the *dvādaśākshara mantra—Oṁ Na-mo Bha-ga-va-te Vā-su-de-vā-ya* (Om. Salutation to the worshipful Vāsudeva) ; this is one of the earliest uses of the holiest litany of the creed. The vitality of the cult at that time is testified to by the fact that Dhruvasena I, one of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī who were mostly *Paramamāheśvaras* (Śaivas), was a Bhāgavata and is given the epithet *Paramabhāgavata* in the Maliya copper-plate inscription of one of his successors Dharasena II (572 A.D.). The much damaged stone inscription of Prakaṭāditya (c. 7th century A.D.) found at Sarnath records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu named there as Muradvish.

GLYPTIC AND MANUMENTAL DATA : SPREAD OF BHĀGAVATISM IN SOUTH INDIA

A large number of terracotta sealings of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods were unearthed in course of excavations at various places like Bhita, Basarh, Rajghat, etc. Many of them bearing inscriptions and Vishṇuite devices prove the flourishing condition of Bhāgavatism in different parts of India. The remains of various temples with scattered sculptures and reliefs found in different places like Bhitargaon (near Kanpur, U.P), Gaḍhwā, Deograh, Mathurā, Pathari (Central India), Tigāwā (Madhya Pradesh), etc., establish the popularity of the creed during the Gupta and post-Gupta ages.

Bhāgavatism (now Vaishṇavism) also flourished in the different parts of South India during the time. The epigraphic and monumental records of dynasties like the early Pallavas, the Kadambas, the Vākāṭakas, the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the later Pallavas, the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and others clearly establish this. The Gunapadeya copper-plate inscription of the early Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman (c. 4th century A.D.) mentions the grant of some land by one Chārudevī, the queen of the *Yuva-Mahārāja*

Vijaya-Buddhavarman, to the god Nārāyaṇa enshrined in the temple erected by one Kuli, a local elder (*mahattara*). The Poona copper-plate inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā, the queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II and the daughter of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, and many other South Indian inscriptions of the period begin with the invocation, *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*.[15] The Vākāṭakas were mostly Śaivas; but Rudrasena II was a convert to Vaishṇavism (cf. the copper-plate inscriptions of his son Pravarasena II in which he is said to have acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the lord Chakrapāṇi). That some of the later Pallava rulers of the the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. were Vaishṇavas is fully proved by epigraphic as well as monumental evidence. Siṁhavarman is described in the Narasaraopet (Omgodu) copper-plate record as 'meditating on the feet of the Bhagavat' (*bhagavat-pādānudhyāta*) and as *Paramabhāgavata*. The epithet *Śrī-Pṛithivī-Vallabha* is found as one of the royal titles in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. Temples at Bādāmi, Pattadakal, Gadag, Lakkundi, etc., in the Chālukya territory, and at Vishṇu-Kāñchī, Mahābalipuram, etc., in the Tamil country testify to the wide prevalence of the cult in the period.

SOME FEATURES OF BHĀGAVATISM-VAISHṆAVISM OF THE PERIOD

Some features of Bhāgavatism-Vaishṇavism of the period need now be noted. The name Bhāgavata continued to be commonly used in the Gupta age, though the term Vaishṇava had already made its appearance by the middle of the 5th century A.D. The Traikūṭaka kings Dahrasena and Vyāghrasena (5th century A.D.) are invariably described in their coin-legends as *Paramavaishṇava*. Devaśakti, one of the early Gurjara-Pratihāra kings (middle of the 8th century A.D.), is also given this attribute in the inscriptions. Vishṇu's name is now more commonly used to denote the central cult figure, the developed mythology grown round him distinctly showing that all the three elements of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, Nārāyaṇa and Vishṇu contributed to the growth of this god concept. The association of the creed with Yoga philosophy and sun-worship long ago enunciated in the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* was fully developed in this period. The importance given to the Avatāra doctrine and recognition given to Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as the most perfect incarnation of Vishṇu established the claim of the Bhāgavata-Pāñcharātra creed for acceptance as a part of orthodox Vedism. In the gradual transformation of Bhāgavatism into Vaishṇavism, the Avatāravāda played a prominent part, and this is one of the main reasons why the worship of the Avatāras constituted a notable feature of Vaishṇavism in the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. The Avatāras like Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana-Trivikrama, etc., find frequent references in the inscriptions of the time. Varāha was given special preference by some Gupta and post-Gupta kings, for the evident ideological comparison of their own part in establishing their kingdoms in safe position with the raising of the earth from *rasātala* by Vishṇu in this form. The Purāṇic and other texts as well as many sculptures found at such widely distant localities in India as Udayagiri (Central India), Eran, Mahābalipuram, Bādāmi (West-Central Deccan), Gaḍhwā (U.P.), etc., clearly indicate that the number of the Daśāvatāras was on the way of being stereotyped. Buddha and Ṛishabha seem to have found their place in some lists of the Avatāras, though the latter had never been included in the list of ten. The early medieval Daśāvatara bas-reliefs found in some parts of India testify to the popularity of their worship. Varāhamihira describes the images of Rāghava Rāma, and Kālidāsa identifies this Rāma with Hari (*Rāmābhidhāno Hariḥ—Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII. 1).

The worship of the Vyūhas developed in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Textual evidence in support of this has already been noted. The four-faced images of Vishṇu-chaturmūrti of the early medieval period or even earlier, found in Kashmir, Mathurā, Banaras and other places, clearly establish that Vyūhavāda had progressed during the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, in the course of their description, explains the ideology behind them. The central human face stands for Vāsudeva, the right-hand leonine face for Saṁkarshaṇa, the left-hand boar face for Pradyumna and the demoniacal back face (generally not visible in bas-relief sculptures) for Aniruddha. When the number is raised from 4 to 24, the iconography of these 24 forms (Chaturviṁśatimūrtis) has no such complexity, each of them being apparently the same in iconographical details as the other. A careful scrutiny of the reliefs sometimes presenting them in a row, and at other times presenting each separately as an individual icon, shows the subtle nuance of distinguishing one from the other. The distinction lies in the different disposition of the four attributes of Vishṇu, viz. *śaṅkha* (conch), *chakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace) and *padma* (lotus or lotus-mark), in the four hands of the divine image. Some early medieval sculptures in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, have been individually identified by B. B. Vidyavinod as different Vyūha images of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, such as Trivikrama, Adhokshaja, Śrīdhara, Upendra and others on the basis of different iconographic texts.[16] T. A. Gopinatha Rao also illustrated his chapter on the Chaturviṁśati-mūtri of Vishṇu by South Indian reliefs belonging to the late medieval period. The point is that the cult of the Vyūhas continued to exist as a part of Vaishṇavism and did not only not disappear in the Gupta age, but also continued to flourish in different parts of India upto a late period.

The importance of the worship of the Goddess Śrī-Lakshmī as an integral part of the cult was fully recognised in the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. It has been shown that in the Pāñcharātra theology the goddess, the Prakṛiti of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, in her dual aspects of Bhūtiśakti and Kriyāśakti, was at the root of pure creation (*śuddha-sṛishṭi*). In the Nārāyaṇī-stuti of the Devīmāhātmya of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* the Ādyāśakti is praised both as Gaurī-Ambikā (the consort of the father-god Śiva) and as Nārāyaṇī-Lakshmī (the consort of Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva). Perhaps this duality in her concept had something to do with the reverse device of the Chandragupta I-Kumāradevī type gold coins of the first Gupta emperor (Allan attributes these coins to Samudragupta), and the reverse device of the Lion-slayer type gold coins of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.

The device, it is true, appears to have been partly influenced by the Nana and Ardochso figures on the coins of such Kushāṇa kings as Huvishka; still the Purāṇic ideology about Gaurī-Nārāyaṇī might have also contributed to its evolution. The device depicts the goddess seated on a lion characterising her Gaurī-Ambikā form, holding a lotus flower and a garland (a fillet) in her two hands emphasising her Nārāyaṇī-Lakshmī aspect. Allan describes this interesting device as Lakshmī-Ambikā, and his description is correct on the basis of the aforesaid suggestion. Lakshmī the goddess of wealth and fortune fittingly continued to be mostly used as a device on the reverse side of a number of coins of the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. Many inscriptions of this period contain respectful references to her whose abode is the breast of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. The particular type of Vaishṇavism which grew out of its earlier Pāñcharātra and Nārāyaṇa-Vishṇu elements came to be designated as Śrī-Vaishṇava, thus emphasising the importance of the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī in it. The goddess is very frequently shown on sealings discovered at Bhita, Basarh, Rajghat and other places.

It will not be possible for me to take note of all the other features of the cult during the period in the short space of this lecture. It had attained to a very important position throughout India and moulded and regulated the lives of a large number of people. Epigraphic data prove that religious establishments, such as Maṭhas associated with it, flourished during the time. The Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena not only refers to the construction of a big temple of Vishṇu by him, but also to the establishment of a religious college (*maṭha*) by his mother Mahādevī Śrīmatī, 'which resembled a house in the world of gods, (and) has been given by herself in person to religious people' (*tajjananyā mahādevyā Śrīmatyā kārito maṭhaḥ | dhārmikebhyaḥ svayaṁ dattaḥ suralokagṛihopamaḥ*). It was mainly in the campuses of such big temples and *maṭhas* that the extremely pious and learned clericals of the Vaishṇava order came to give shape and form to the various sub-systems within it on the basis of its earlier constituents and work out their different philosophical tenets according to their individual interpretation of some of the basic systems of Indian philosophy.

REFERENCES

1. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-33. He also first pointed out how this Nārāyaṇa concept, not the name, can be traced back to the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* (X. 82, 5-6).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.
3. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 151ff.
4. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1925-26, pp. 184-85, Pl. LXXVII, Fig. c.
5. Schrader, F.O., *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, pp. 24-26.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
7. Vāgīśvara is one of the aspects of Mañjuśrī, while Lokanātha is of Padmapāṇi Avalokisteśvara. Ṛishabha, the first of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, is not among the Śāttvata list, but is include in that of 23 incarnations in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, a much later work.
8. *Bhāradvāja Saṁhitā Pariśishṭa*, III, 57 ; IV. 28.
9. *Bh. G.*, IV. 11—*Ye yathā māṁ prapadyante tāṁstathaiva bhajāmyaham* | *Mama vartmānuvarttante manushyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ* ||

   IX. 23—*Ye'pyanyadevatābhaktā yajante śraddhayānvitāḥ* |
   Te'pi māmeva Kaunteya yajantyavidhipūrvvakam ||
10. Manu says, *Chikitsakān devalakān māṁsa-vikrayinastathā* |
    vipaṇena cha jīvanti varjyāssyurhavyakavyayoḥ ||

    i.e., '(Those Brāhmaṇas) who are physicians, who are temple-priests, who sell meat, who live on trade, are to be shunned in times of offering of sacrifice to the gods and of offering of *piṇḍas* to the manes'.
11. Schrader, F.O., *op. cit.*, pp. 6-12.
12. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 270-71—
    (1) *Jitam abhīkshṇameva jāmbavatī-vadanāravind-orjjit-ālinā* (2) *dānav-āṅganā-mukhāmbhoja-lakshmī-tushāreṇa Vishṇunā* (3) *Anekapurushābhyāgat-āryya-Sātvata-Yogāchāryya-* (4) *bhagavad-bhakta-Yaśastrāta-prapautrasyāchāryya-Vishṇutrāta-pautrasyāchāryya-* (5) *Vasudatta-putrasya Rāvaṇyāmutpannasya Gotama-sagotrasyāryya-opāddhyāya-* (6) *Yaśastrāt[ān]ujasyāchāryya-Somatrātasyedaṁ bhagavatpādopayo-* (7) *jyaṁ ku-* (8) *ṇḍaṁ chāparam.*

13. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1905-06, pp. 135-40 and Figures. D. R. Bhandarkar, who found these fragmentary stone jambs in course of his explorations, identified the scenes in the damaged reliefs.

14. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 377-78.

15. The complete verse is—

    Jitaṁ bhagavatā tena Vishṇunā yasya vakshasi |
    Śrīssvayaṁ bhāti devaścha nābhipadme pitāmhaḥ ||

    "Victory to the worshipful Vishṇu on whose breast shines Śrī herself, and on the lotus (issuing from whose navel) sits the god Pitāmaha (Brahmā)."

16. B. B. Vidyavinod, *Varieties of the Vishṇu Image* (M.A.S.I., No. 2).

Lecture IV

ŚAIVISM—I

INTRODUCTION

The roots of Śaivism, the other major cult of India, unlike those of Vaishṇavism, can be traced to the pre-Vedic or proto-historic religion of the country. Unlike Vaishṇavism, the central figure round which the cult started to grow was a mythical one, and most, if not all, of the allied god-concepts which tended to develop it in course of millennia were mythological in character. The historicity of only one entity among the various constituents of the Śaiva order, namely that of Lakulīśa, the supposed 28th or last incarnation of Śiva, has been ably demonstrated by D. R. Bhandarkar; but this incarnation flourished as late as the 1st-2nd century A.D., whereas the beginnings of the cult can be traced back to the period of the early Indus Valley civilisation. We have no means of ascertaining the name or names of the deity or deities, which appear to have contained some elements associated with the cult god Śiva of the historic times, for the value of the pictographic writings engraved on the seals unearthed at the Indus Valley sites has not yet been known. Attempts have been made to explain the carvings on several of them, and the nature of some stray iconic figures and aniconic emblems discovered in those places with the help of the mythology connected with the historic Śiva. Thus, the pre-Vedic cult deity has been conveniently dubbed by John Marshall and others as Proto-Śiva. This affinity between the proto-historic and historic deities is certainly a very interesting and important factor in the growth and development of the Paurāṇic and Tāntric religion of Śaivism. The next important constituent of the central deity of the creed was the Vedic god Rudra, the dire god who was at the same time amenable to be transformed into a pacific and auspicious one (Śiva) by the offering of suitable prayers and performance of proper sacrifices. These Proto-Śiva and Rudra elements of earlier times were further supplemented by the many allied god-concepts of later times, some of them undoubtedly of a non-Aryan or un-Aryan character, in the late Vedic and post-Vedic ages, and thus constituted the composition of the central deity of the cult.

PROTO-ŚIVA OF THE INDUS VALLEY SITES

Numerous sealings or seal-amulets of steatite, faience, etc., and other objects, unearthed in early Indus Valley sites seem to throw indirect light on the religious practices of the urban people who lived there in the third millennium B. C. and afterwards. A squarish faience seal (amulet) dug out at Mahenjo-daro is of unique interest in determining the nature of one aspect of the deity described as Proto-Śiva. The main device on it consists of an apparently three-faced, two-horned and two-armed figure sitting on a raised seat in a particular *yoga* posture similar to some extent to the *kūrmāsana* of later times; its arms are ornamented with rows of a large number of bangles, the stretched hands resting on the flexed knees; there are some neck-chains on its chest; the tallish head-dress between the two horns is a little extended upwards; it has on its both sides four animals, elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo, two on each, and two deer and an object (like a book-rest) are carved on the raised seat; on the top corner is the outline of a human figure, and on the top centre some pictographs. Another interesting trait of the seated figure is its ithyphallic nature, though it is a little indistinct. John Marshall based his interpretation of the main device as the prototype of the epic and Paurāṇic Mahāyogī Śiva-Paśupati, though his view was not unanimously accepted. But the alternative interpretations suggested by a few of his critics are far less acceptable than his view. Similar devices with lesser details have also been found on a few more seals, and in the context of several other data collected there, Marshal's suggestion can be accepted. One such datum consists of two other seals found at the same place. The devices on them are similar to one another, and show a god seated in *yoga* posture, on either side of whom kneels a Nāga (human in form) with hands uplifted in prayer. The association of *nāgas* (serpents) with the epic and Purāṇic Śiva is well-known, and it will not be too far-fetched to find in this device another way of representing Proto-Śiva, an object of worship by the very ancient people of of the locality. Some of the composite figures found engraved on the seals unearthed at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa do remind us of the hybrid figures of Pramathas and Gaṇas, the impish attendants of the historic Śiva.[1]

PHALLISM AND OTHER FEATURES

It has been pointed out in the first of this series of lectures that the ancient inhabitants of the Indus Valley might have used the phallic symbols in their worship of the father-god described here as Proto-Śiva. It has also been said that the Ṛigvedic word *Śiśnadeva* might refer to these people on account of this ritual practice characterising their religion. Some objects made of steatite and terracotta found in the early Indus Valley sites have been justifiably identified by Marshall and others on the basis of their very suggestive appearance as so many phallic symbols. The ithyphallic nature of the figure of Proto-Śiva on the seal or seals just mentioned seems also to support this explanation of the objects. The worship of Śiva-liṅga was one of the most prominent characteristic traits of Śaivism of later times, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that this practice the Śaivas might have imbibed from their hoary predecessors of the Indus Valley. A small half-damaged figure made of dark grey slate unearthed at Harappa was interpreted by Marshall as depicting another aspect of Proto-Śiva, which had distant affinity with the much later dancing type of Śiva Naṭarāja. There is however some difficulty in accepting Marshall's interpretation of this sculpture, for the figure is much damaged (its head is all gone and only parts of its arms and legs are intact). Some scholars again have suggested that the figure is a female one, and thus could not have depicted the prototype of Paurāṇic dancing Śiva. Whatever the real character of this fragmentary sculpture might be, the other archaeological data just considered help to support Marshall's original contention about the ritual worship of some such father-god conveniently described by him as Proto-Śiva.

VEDIC RUDRA

There is no doubt that Vedic Rudra was also the counterpart of the epic and Paurāṇic Śiva. In the *Ṛigveda* there are many hymns dedicated to Rudra, in most of which his dire and terrific nature is emphasised. The dreadful and destructive forces of nature, such as violent storms and howling winds, the raging fire and piercing thunderbolt, all-destroying epidemics and all-carrying floods, raised the respectful awe of the hymnists who personalised them and several other such forces into the fearsome god Rudra. But man does not like to remain content with such dire conceptions, and wants that even such fearful gods can be made to change nature through human prayers and sacrifices to be benign and auspicious divinities. This also happened in the case of the transformation of Rudra (terrific) to Śiva (pacific and auspicious). The process had already begun in the *Ṛigveda*. One of the representative types of such hymns addressed by the seers to the fierce god is the 8th *anuvāk* of the 114th *sūkta* of the 1st *maṇḍala*; it can be translated thus, "Oh Rudra, do not out of thy anger injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee always with offerings" (R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 103). Rudra caused diseases; but he was at the same time the healer of them. This trait of the Vedic deity was specially manifest in the Paurāṇic Śiva who was regarded as the best physician of physicians. The *Śatarudrīya* verses of the *Yajurveda* (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV. 5, 1; *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, Chapter 16) contain the 100 names of Rudra, some of which allude to his terrific and others to his pacific and auspicious form (*śivā tanu*). This ideology is identically expressed in an epic verse describing Śiva (*dve tanū tasya devasya brāhmaṇāḥ vedajñāḥ viduh | ghorām anyām*).

The dual aspect can also be traced in the development of the concept of Rudra in the late Vedic and Brāhmaṇic ages. The *Atharvaveda* refers to several names of Rudra, such as Bhava, Śarva, Mahādeva, Paśupati, Ugra and Īśāna. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* one more, Aśani, is added, and, along with Rudra, the number is now eight, four of which, Rudra, Śarva, Ugra and Aśani are descriptive of his terrific aspect, the other four, Bhava, Paśupati, Mahādeva and Īśāna, indicating the pacific one. Most of these names of Rudra occur in the *Śāṅkhyāyana, Kaushītaki* and other Brāhmaṇas, and the word *śiva* found there and in earlier Vedic texts is not used as a proper name, but an attributive epithet not particularly of Rudra, but also of several other Vedic deities. The *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* gives the name Īśāna as well as Mahān-Deva to the god, and Weber deduced from this attribution that the god Rudra was assigned a special prominence in comparison with other deities. But his observation that this indicated sectarian worship of the god is too far-reaching. One of the earliest uses of Śiva as a proper name of Rudra is found in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* which, as it will be presently shown, has much to say on the beginnings of the cult of Rudra-Śiva. But there is no doubt that the various names and observations about the developing concept of Rudra in the *Śatarudrīya, Atharvaveda* and several Brāhmaṇas noted above prove that many different elements contributed towards this development of the religious entity which afterwards came to be principally called Śiva. The sect was to make its appearance with Śiva as its main object of veneration having Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Īśa, Īśāna, Paśupati, etc., as his highly honoured designations. The Vedas speak of the plurality of the Rudras, and their number was fixed at eleven in the epic and Purāṇic age, as the numbers of the Ādityas and Vasus were fixed at twelve and eight respectively. In the tenth canto of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Lord Krishṇa describes himself as 'Śaṅkara among the Rudras' *Rudrāṇāṁ Śaṅkaraśchāsmi*). The earliest representation of the Ekādaśa Rudras in a group, as it has been pointed out in the previous lecture, is to be found in the Varāha cave facade at Udayagiri near Bhilsa. It is of interest to note that all the eleven are ithyphallic in nature.

ŚVETĀŚVATARA UPANISHAD AND THE CULT OF RUDRA-ŚIVA

The *Śvetāśvatara* is one of the metrical Upanishads included among the dozen or so major Upanishads, and is classed along with *Kaṭha, Kena,* and *Īśa* belonging to the middle group. But it has a special character of its own, for it not only contains passages of a pantheistic character like the others, but a large part of its contents is definitely theistic. The one god on whom its theism rests is no other than the worshipful Rudra 'who has no second, who regulates the universe with his own power, who is the creator, preserver and destroyer, and in whom all universe is absorbed in the time of dissolution' (*Eko'hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthurya imān lokānīśata īśānībhiḥ | Pratyañ janāṁstishṭhate sañchukopāntakāle saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni goptā*—III. 2). He is endowed with many names, such as Mahādeva, Maharshi, the all-pervading worshipful Lord (Bhagavān), Īśa, Īśāna, Śiva immanent in all beings (*Śivaṁ sarvabhūteshu gūḍham*—IV. 16), Maheśvara among all the Īśvaras and the highest Daivata among the gods (*Tamīsvarāṇāṁ paramaṁ Maheśvaraṁ taṁ devatānāṃ paramañcha daivatam*—IV. 7). Māyā (his power of delusion) is Prakṛiti (not-self or nature) and he is the great god Māyin (possessor of Māyā), and the whole world is pervaded by his multifarious forms (*Māyāntu prakṛitiṁ vidyān māyinantu Maheśvaram | Tasyāvayavabhūtaistu vyāptaṁ saryamidaṁ jagat.*—IV. 10). The name Śiva occurs in several verses of the said Upanishad (III. 11; IV. 16; V. 14) mainly as an attributive of Rudra; but it can be presumed that the process of transforming it into a proper name for designating the cult god has already begun. The mental attitude of the author sage of the Upanishad is fully analysed with the help of the above quoted extracts, and several other passages in it leave little doubt that this is nothing but pure and one-souled *bhakti* for this great god (*Parā ekātmikā bhakti*). It is thus no wonder that the seer of this great text enjoins in its last verse that 'it should only be expounded to those who have great *bhakti* for the god and the spiritual guide' (*Yasya deve parā bhaktiryathā deve tathā gurau | asyaite kathitā hyarthāḥ* *prakāśante mahātmanaḥ*). There is again evidence in this Upanishad that the sage Śvetāśvatara, its supposed auhor, absolutely surrendered himself to his god Rudra as Arjuna did to Kṛishṇa when the latter favoured his friend with the vision of his Viśvarūpa. The verse is worth-quoting here—

Yo Brahmāṇaṁ vidadhāti pūrvaṁ
yo vai vedāṁścha prahiṇoti tasmai |
taṁ ha devamātmabuddhiprakāśaṁ
mumukshurvai śaraṇamahaṁ prapadye ||

"Who created Brahmā first and gave him the Vedas,—I take refuge, wishing liberation, in the God who is revealed in self-knowledge" (VI. 18). Thus the following observation made by R. G. Bhandarkar after his summary of and comments on the contents of the Upanishad is very apt and illuminating: "The *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad*, therefore, stands at the door of the Bhakti school, and pours its loving adoration on Rudra-Śiva instead of on Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as the *Bhagavadgītā* did in later times when the Bhakti doctrine was in full swing' (*op. cit.*, p. 110). There is, however, a slight difference between the two; the *Gītā* expatiates on the one-souled devotion of the worshipper of a personal god with a historic background, while the Upanishad deals with the same of the sage for a god with mythological basis at a time when pantheism generally held ground among the religious thinkers of the time.

DAWN OF SECTARIANISM : ATHARVAŚIRAS UPANISHAD

In spite of what has been just said about the exposition of theism and *bhakti* in the *Śvetāśvatara* it cannot be said that the Upanishad contains definite sectarian elements. There is no attempt here to raise Rudra to the position of a sectarian god at the expense of other deities mentioned by name. But another Upanishad of a much later date, *Atharvaśiras*, clearly shows this spirit. Rudra is not only identified with many other deities, but is also described as transcending each of them individually and collectively. Mention is also made of particular methods to be adopted by each devotee of Rudra, such as taking moderate food, devoting oneself to listening to prescribed texts (*śravaṇa*), thinking on their real meaning (*manana*), undertaking to perform the Pāśupata *vrata* (vow), for the attainment of true knowledge about his own god, and becoming a Paramahaṁsa, or 'a single minded devotee'. The devotee should also forsake greed (*lobha*) and anger (*krodha*) and should practise forgiveness (*kshamā*) and meditation (*dhyāna*), which would help him in the realisation of his god. The main feature of the Pāśupata *vrata* is the ceremonial touching of the different limbs of the devotee with ashes by muttering a *mantra* which means 'the ash is fire, the ash is wind, the ash is water, the ash is earth, the ether is ash, everything is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ashes' (*Agniriti bhasma vāyuriti bhasma jalamiti bhasma sthalamiti bhasma vyoma iti bhasma sarvaṁ ha vai idaṁ bhasma manaḥ etāni chakshuṁsī bhasmāni*). The ritual performance of this *vrata* would result in loosening the bonds (*pāśa*) of the individual (*paśu*) leading to his liberation. This is described as *Paśupāśavimokshaṇa*, and clearly reminds us of one of the *vidhis* (measures) enjoined to be performed by sectarian Pāśupatas or Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas to be discussed afterwards. The performance of this rite alone, enjoined in the *Atharvaśiras Upanishad* for the devotees of Rudra, characterises it as a sectarian one, which is no doubt the source on which one of the *vidhis* of the later sect is based.

ŚIVA IN EARLY BUDDHIST TEXTS

Early Buddhist works like the *Chullavagga* and the *Saṁyuttanikāya* describe Śiva as a *deva* or a *devaputra*; but they do not distinctly refer to his worshippers. The passage in the *Niddesa*, already noted in a previous lecture, does not contain the name Śiva along with those of Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Pūrṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra and others; but when it mentions one Deva among them and his worshippers, it is very likely, if not certain, that this is an implicit reference to Śiva and the Śaivas. The *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* assigns the name Deva to Rudra-Śiva, and much later the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang refers to Śiva as Deva or Īśvara Deva. It is thus presumable that the Deva and Deva-worshippers of the *Niddesa* passage are Śiva and his votaries. The *Mahāmāyūrī*, one of the great *mantra* formulas of northern Buddhism, composed before the 4th century A.D. (it was translated into Chinese four times between the 4th and 8th centuries A.D.) writes about Śiva and Śivabhadra, the tutelary deities of the towns of Śivapura and Bhīshaṇa (*Śivaḥ Śivapurāhāre Śivabhadraścha Bhīshaṇe*). Sylvain Lévi found in Śivapura of this passage a reference to Śivapura or Śaivapura described by Patañjali as an *udīchya-grāma* (a village of the north).

ŚIVA AND ŚAIVISM IN EARLY FOREIGN LITERATURE

The annalysts of Alexander's invasion write about a people called the Sibae (Siboi) who dwelt in the Panjab near the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines (the Jhelum and Chenab). Lassen suggested long ago that this tribe has to be identified with the Śibis or Uśīnaras frequently mentioned in indigenous Indian texts. Curtius, Diodorus and other classical writers describe the Sibae as dressed in the skins of wild beasts, having clubs for their weapons and branding their cattle with the mark of a club. The Mecedonian Greeks took them to be the descendants of Heracles and his companions who invaded India in remote antiquity. Strabo does not support this connection. Heracles of the classical writers has been justifiably identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, and Dionysios with Śiva. It may be mentioned in this connection that Megasthenes describes the Indian Dionysios as the god of hills and mountains, and the Indian Heracles as the divinity of plains and cities. Whatever truth may lie in these suggestions, the hyde dress and clubs of the Sibae (Siboi) appear to equate them with similar features of Śiva and his worshippers to be noticed later in fuller details. The equation of Śibi with Śiva is, however, still doubtful on account of their different spellings. Two classical writers, Hesychius and Stobaeus, prove that Śiva was an object of worship among the people of North-Western India. Hesychius says that 'bull was the god of India', evidently referring to the theriomorphic form of the god. The bull device on the coins of the early foreign rulers of North-Western India may represent Śiva.

RUDRA-ŚIVA AND ŚAIVISM IN PĀṆINI

The position of Rudra-Śiva and of the cult centering round him in centuries preceding the Christian era is also indicated by certain contemporary grammatical works. Some *sūtras* in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* are of course the earliest and most interesting among them. H. C. Raychaudhuri's dating of Pāṇini in the 5th century B.C. is generally acceptable, and whatever information we get from the cryptic *sūtras* contained in his work of any particular topic can be assigned to the period. The great grammarian records several names of Rudra such as Bhava, Śarva, Rudra and Mṛiḍa in one of his *sūtras* (IV. 1, 49). That all these and more are found in earlier Vedic texts has been pointed out earlier. Mṛiḍa is included in the list of 100 names of Rudra in the *Śatarudriya* section of the *Yajurveda.* Though the name *Śiva* does not occur in this *sūtra,* one finds it in another *sūtra, Śivādibhyon* (IV. 1, 112), which may throw interesting light on the evolution of the sect centering round the god. It means that the words like *Śaiva* derived by the application of the suffix *an* on such words as *Śiva,* etc., denote the descendants of them (Śiva and others). Our positive suggestion that here we find one of the earliest references to the Śaivas may not be wide and unacceptable, as on many occasions the followers or disciples of a divine being are described as his progeny. The *Liṅga Purāṇa,* a much later text, while narrating the account of Lakulīśa, the 28th and last incarnation of Śiva, describes his four immediate disciples, Kuśika, Mitra, Garga and Kaurushya as the sons of this divine Avatāra.

KEŚISŪKTA OF THE *ṚIGVEDA* : ITS IMPORT

A theory put forward by a few scholars that the earliest reference to the clan of Rudra-worshippers is found in a hymn of the 10th *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* may be noted in this connection. This short hymn usually called Keśi-sūkta belongs to the latest stratum of the Saṁhitā like the Purusha-sūkta of the same *maṇḍala* and consists of 7 *anuvāks*. In the second of these the Munis are characterised as half-naked, wearing (short) garment of brown colour soiled with dust; in some of the other *anuvāks* Keśī (one with long hair) is described as 'the friend of the wind, inspired by the gods, frenzied by the performance of austerities; the Muni (Keśī) dwells or travels in the eastern and western oceans, and breaks such things as cannot be bent by a cup of poison which he drank with Rudra'.[2] It is very difficult to understand the real import of the hymn, though some traits of Keśī (Muni) and his companions laid down in the above extracts appear to bear some affinity with the practices of Rudra-Śiva and his worshippers. Note specially the drinking of poison by Rudra, which closely resembles the epic and Purāṇic story about Śiva Nīlakaṇṭha. But Sāyaṇa's commentary on this hymn does not support any real connection between the late Vedic reference to Keśi-muni and the other Munis, and the Purāṇic account of Rudra-Śiva and his followers at a much later period. Sāyaṇa explains that this *sūkta* really refers to the sun-god (Keśi-muni with long hair being according to him no other than Sūrya with his spreading rays) absorbing the waters (another meaning of the word *visha* is 'water', and it is used in this sense here in the commentator's opinion) through his scorching rays. In spite of Sāyaṇa's commentary, some apparent resemblance between the description of the Munis of this *sūkta* and that of the Śaiva ascetics of later date cannot be completely ignored, though it would be hazardous to find in them the earliest reference to the followers of Rudra-Śiva. But it would not be unreasonable to find in this Keśī hymn the nucleus of the epic and Purāṇic story of Śiva's drinking poison.

PATAÑJALI ON RUDRA-ŚIVA AND HIS WORSHIPPERS

Patañjali's references to Rudra-Śiva and more spenifically to Śiva and his worshippers are most interesting and suggestive for the study of the development of the cult. He mentions

Rudra as well as Śiva several times in his *Mahābhāshya*. Reference is twice made to Rudra as the god who has to be propitiated with animal sacrifices; on two other occasions the medicinal herbs of Rudra are described as auspicious (*śivā Rudrasya bheshajī*).[3] Śiva as a god is named twice by Patañjali, once in the course of his comment on *vārttika* 2 on *sūtra* VI. 3, 26 (*devatā-dvandve cha ; vārttika* 2 on it—*Brahma-prajāpatyādīnāṁ cha*). On this occasion, he cites the use of such compounds as Brahma-Prajāpati, Śiva-Vaiśravaṇa and Skanda-Viśākha, and mentions incidentally that they are not found in the Vedas. Except Prajāpati the other gods are non-Vedic, and so they are absent in the Vedas. The grammarian names Śiva for the second time while referring to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, in his comment on Pāṇini's *sūtra*, V. 3, 99 (*Jīvikārthe chāpaṇye*). Skanda and Viśākha were presumably two separate entities in the beginning but subsequently merged into one and was mythologically described as one of the favourite sons of Śiva. There is no doubt that the cult of Śiva had developed much by Patañjali's time, as will be presently shown.

The exclusive worshippers of Śiva are described by Patañjali as Śiva-bhāgavata, and this is the earliest certain reference to a Śaiva sect. Pāṇini enjoins in his *sūtra* V. 2, 76 (*ayaḥśūladaṇḍ-ājinābhyāṁ ṭhakṭhañau*) that the suffixes *ṭhak* and *ṭhañ* should be respectively appended to the words *ayaḥśūla* and *daṇḍājina* (in deriving words denoting 'those who strive to gain something by that'). The commentator remarks that a Śiva-bhāgavata is an *āyaḥśūlika* (one with an iron lance), for he seeks to obtain his end by violence, which could be achieved by mild and temperate means. The grammarian does not comment on the word *daṇḍājina ;* it is, however, understood that a club and a hyde-garment are also the characteristic outer marks of such a Śaiva sectary. These features were the badges of the devotion flaunted by the clericals of the Śiva-bhāgavatas, which appear to have been deprecated by men like Patañjali. He observes that these sectaries were prone to have recourse to forceful means for the attainment of ends which could be obtained by adopting much milder methods (*yo mṛidunopāyenānveshṭavyān arthān* *rabhasenānvichchhati*). Mention may be made in this connection of his disapproval of the conduct of the royal officials (*rājapurusha*) recorded by him in his comment on Pānini's *sūtra* V. 2, 75 (*Pārśvenānvichchhati*).[4] The use of the word *rabhasa* (forceful way) in characterising the ritualism of the Śiva-bhāgavatas is significant, for it reminds us of the many outlandish and unsocial ritual practices of the Pāśupatas described in the *Pāśupata-sūtras* and the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* of a much later period.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ŚAIVISM

It is time to assess the value of available archaeological data regarding Śiva and Śaivism in the centuries preceding the Christian era and a century or two after. It must be said at the very outset that, unlike Vāsudeva-Vishṇu and Bhāgavatism-Vaishṇavism, inscriptional data from which the early history of this cult specially of this period can be reconstructed are very few. But what we do not find in inscriptions, we find in an adequate number of coins of very early times belonging to different categories, like punch-marked, cast and die-struck, found in different parts of Northern and Central India. Śiva is usually represented on coins in three forms, phallic, theriomorphic (as a bull) and anthropomorphic. Among the numerous devices on the earliest coins of India, the punch-marked ones, can be found a schematic representation of a two-armed human figure holding a staff and a water-vessel. One may not be definite in describing it as Śiva; but this was in broad outline the iconography of the god on many of the ancient coins of India. The evidence of early Ujjain coins may be cited in this connection. The club and water-vessel in the two-armed figure of Śiva on them are the norm, though the trident and combined trident-battleaxe are sometimes found. Three-faced Śiva (Mahākāla) on some coins of the locality also carry *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu*. These indigenous coins belong to the 3rd-2nd century B.C., and supply evidence about the iconography of the god current in the region during the period. Glyptic and numismatic data belonging to a little later age leave little doubt about the development of the iconography of Śiva, and we find over and above the emblems noted above, such attributes as a lion's (or tiger's) skin, thunderbolt, and antelope, etc., held by him. Two-armed Śiva is shown with a trident and knotted club on the Sirkap inscribed bronze seal of Śivarakshita, on some copper coins of Maues and Gondophares (his coins are of billon), on a few coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghosha (the figure is described as Viśvāmitra on the coin legend), on the coins of Wema Kadphises, and his successors Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva.[5] The bull device on Ujjain and other indigenous coins found in the extreme-northern, northern and north-western regions of India mostly issued by the early foreign rulers of the localities, testify to the favourite theriomorphic representation of the divinity. The wide range of the circulation of coins and seals with Śiva in different forms as their device undoubtdly establish the prevalence of the Śaiva cult not only among the foreign potentates. It will be emphasised later that the Kushāṇa emperor Wema Kadphises appears to have been an initiate into the Pāśupata (Śaiva) creed.

The legend *Śivarakshitasa* on the just-noted bronze seal unearthed at Sirkap, the intermediate city-site of Taxila, proves that there was a Taxilian of the 2nd-1st century B.C., whose patron deity was Śiva, and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that there were many such people in the region. There is a probable reference to a Śaiva shrine in a Kharoshṭhī inscription of the early Kushāṇa period (c. 1st century A.D.)[6] found at Panjtar (Silimpur) below the Mahāban range in the north-west of India. A part of its second line reads—*moike urumujaputre karavide śivathale,* which was translated by Konow as 'was made an auspicious ground by Moika, the Urumuja scion'. But he was not certain about the exact meaning of *śivathala* which might also mean 'a Śiva sanctuary'. This he himself suggested, though he accepted the other less likely sense. *Sthala* and *sthāna* (cf. the word *mahāsthāna* in the Mathurā inscription noted in lecture II) are commonly used to mean 'a shrine' or 'a sanctuary', and Konow has rightly accepted the meaning in this context. But his rendering of the word *śiva* is not happy. *Śiva* would indicate the god's name, and the compound *Śivathala* in the Kharoshṭhī record may more probably mean 'a Śiva sanctuary' (a sanctuary of the god Śiva).[6] It is most likely that the city of Pushkalāvatī, the old capital of Gandhāra (Purushapura was the later one), had the bull form of Śiva as one of its tutelary deities. This is indicated by a unique gold coin of an unknown Indo-Scythian chief whose name does not occur on it, discovered by Cunningham and now preserved in the collection of the British Museum; it contains the figure of a bull on one side with the legends *tauros* and *ushabhe* in the Greek and Kharoshṭhī scripts above and below the device, both meaning 'bull', and on the other a standing female figure holding a lotus with the Kharoshṭhī legend *Pakhalavatidevata* (the deity of Pushkalāvatī) on its two sides. Coomaraswamy identified the latter as Lakshmī, and he may be right; but an alternative suggestion put forward by me that the goddess might stand for Ambikā (Pārvatī), the consort of Śiva, is more likely.[7] The worship of Śiva appears to have continued for centuries in the locality, for Hiuen Thsang observes that 'outside the west gate of the city of Pushkalāvatī was a Deva temple and a marvel-working image of the Deva', the word *deva* here undoubtedly referring to Śiva.[8] Gondophares, the Indo-Parthian ruler (1st half of the 1st century A. D.) is very often described in his coin legends as *devavrata* or *sudevavrata* (one devoted to *deva* or *sudeva*). This Deva or Sudeva might be no other than Śiva whose trident-bearing fiigure appears on some billon coins of the Indo-Parthian king. The word *vrata* in this association is reminiscent of the *Pāśupata-vrata* or the *Mahāvrata* of the sectarian Śaivas. The great Kushāṇa emperor, Wema Kadphises who ruled shortly after Gondophares, was undoubtedly a sectarian Śaiva, probably initiated into the *Pāśupata-vrata.* This is proved not only by the almost invariable presence of the trident-bearer god with or without the figure of the bull (his theriomorphic form) or one of his emblems—the combined trident-battleaxe on the reverse side of his gold and copper coins, but also the attributive epithet *mahiśvara* in his coin-legend, most probably the Kharoshṭhī way of writing *māheśvara*, another name of Pāśupata. The complete Prakrit legend written neatly in the Kharoshṭhī script on many of his gold and copper coins reads *Maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga-*

iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima-Kaṭhphisasa tratarasa (of the great king, the king of kings, lord of all the worlds, the Māheśvara Vima Kadphises, the saviour).[9] A much-damaged stone sculpture of the time of Gondophares and Wema Kadphises, now an exhibit in the Mathurā Museum collection, shows two foreign chiefs dressed in the long coat, tall head dress and heavy boots respectfully approaching the phallic emblem of Śiva with vine wreaths in their hands. The *udīchyaveśa* (northerner's dress) of the figures and vine-wreaths in their hands prove that they were foreigners, and devotees of Śiva.

PHALLISM IN THE ŚIVA CULT

The worship of Śiva in his phallic emblem is very old. The phallic symbols of the early Indus Valley sites, and their association with the contemporary cult of Proto-Śiva have been commented on earlier in this lecture. There is reason to believe that this ritual of the proto-historic people of the extreme-north and north-west of India had something to do with the Śiva-liṅga worship of the historic period. It is true that there is no clear literary evidence to prove the existence of this ritual practice among the worshippers of Śiva in the centuries before the Christian era. There are two verses in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* (IV. 11 and V. 2) which describe the god Īśāna as presiding over every *yoni* and over all forms and *yonis*, in which R. G. Bhandarkar found the remote possibility of 'an allusion to the physical fact of the Liṅga and Yoni connected together' (*op. cit.*, 114, note 1). But he was under a misconception about the early and original character of the emblem which did not typify at all the so-called union of the male and female principles (*liṅgam* in *arghya*), which concept was evidently of a much later date. Archaeology and literature prove that the male emblem was separately worshipped as the most characteristic symbol of the father-god. The *arghya* (*yoni*) was not much in worship, though the ring-stones of the proto-historic age appear to have indicated the female principlle which might have been worshipped as the symbol of the mother-goddess. The *yantras* (and partly *chakras*) in a way symbolised the female element in the Tāntric form of Śakti worship. But in the early phase of Śaivism, as archaeological data clearly prove, the Śiva-liṅga was a very realistic representation of the male organ in a state of erection (*ūrdhva-liṅga*) with no *arghya* below it. Numismatic as well as sculptural evidence fully supports this. J. Allan describes a symbol appearing on an uninscribed cast coin (provenance unknown) as 'a *liṅgam* on square pedestal'; the tree in railing on its left may stand for the *sthala-vṛiksha* associated with the Śaiva emblem. Another device on the obverse of two square copper coins probably found at Taxila contains a somewhat sketchy representation of the same symbol. A Śiva-liṅga inside a railing fllanked by two different trees enclosed in railings, one on each side, appears on the obverse of Var. C of Class I coins of Ujjayinī.[11] The association of Śiva-liṅgas with trees (*sthala-vṛikshas*) is a common feature of the cult even now. But what is of special interest in this connection is the extremely realistic shape of the emblem, and the absence of *arghya* below it. The coins noted above belong approximately to the period of the 2nd-1st century B.C., and it is very likely, nay certain, that this mode of worshipping the god through his phallic emblem was current in India from a much earlier period.

Early sculptural evidence may be supplied in support of the aforesaid conclusion drawn from a study of some coins of ancient India. One sculpture of outstanding importance in this matter was discovered long ago by Gopinath Rao at Guḍimallam, a village near Reniguṇṭā in the present Andhra Pradesh. It is still in worship by the local people, and is enshrined in a temple which is not the original one, but built long after the early date (c. 1st century B.C.) of the sculpture. 'Carved out of a hard igneous stone of a dark brown colour with some polish, it abruptly stands five feet above the floor level (there is no pedestal) and is almost a foot in thickness. The nut is differentiated from the shaft by a deep slanting groove cut near the top, and the front part of the shaft bears on it the two-armed figure of Śiva in high relief standing on the shoulders of the crouching figure of Apasmāra-purusha. A ram is held by the right hand of Śiva, the left holds a water-vessel, and a battleaxe is shown along his left arm above the shoulder.[12] What is to be specially noted in this sculpture is the extreme realism of the emblem, Śiva (the atributes *paraśu* and *mṛiga*, the ram being also a *mṛiga* which generally means *paśu*, prove it) standing on evil personified (Apasmāra-purusha), and the absence of any *arghya* below the column-like shaft of the emblem. Several highly realistic Śiva-liṅgas of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. without the figure of Śiva carved on it are in the collection of the Mathurā and Lucknow Museums; they also disprove R. G. Bhandarkar's view that no close association of phallism with the cult of Śiva had taken place even upto the time of Wema Kadphises on whose coins this emblem was never used as a device, but the devices used were the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic figures of the god, as well as his emblem, trident-battleaxe.

The evidence of a very interesting sculpture originally found at Bhita (13 miles distant from Allahabad) and now in the Lucknow Museum collections has some negative bearing on the point discussed here. It looks like the top portion of a column with the two-armed human bust above and four human heads round the shaft just below the bust. There is a phallus mark incised in deep lines below two of the heads. To the proper left of this mark is an inscription in Brāhmī characters of the 1st century B.C. It was read as *Khajahūtiputānaṁ la*(*liṃ* suggested by Banerji)*go patiṭhāpito Vāseṭhiputena Nāgasirinā piyatāṁ devatā* and translated thus, 'The Liṅga of the sons of Khajahuti, was dedicated (established) by Nāgasiri, the son of Vāseṭhi. May the deity be pleased.' T. A. Gopinatha Rao described it as one of the earliest Pañchamukha Śiva-liṅgas, the bust and four heads corresponding to the Īśāna, Tatpurusha, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta aspects of the god.[13] T. Bloch objected to Banerji's reading of the word *liṅgo* in the epigraph, for *lago* is quite clear. He further objected that 'the enshrinement of the *liṅga* of the sons of Khajahuti' would make no sense at all. Rao's interpretation of the sculpture as the earliest known Pañchamukha-liṅga of Śiva is also totally unjustified, for there is no shred of evidence in its support. One remark of Banerji in his account, 'the lower part of the stone has been shaped as a tenon to be fitted in a mortice', helps us to interpret the sculpture as the capital of a memorial column, and the correct reading *lago* (a possible contraction of the word *Laguḍa* meaning in this context 'a column') would support this suggestion. Then the inscription would be justifiably interpreted as 'The *lago* (the memorial column) of the sons of Khajahuti was established by Vāseṭhiputa Nāgasiri. May the deity be pleased'. The bust and the heads on the sculpture could then be taken to stand for those of the departed sons of Khajahuti, and the realistic phallus mark may indicate the common practice of the persons commemorating their ancestors by putting it on the column erected by them. The deity invoked here may most probably be no other than Śiva, whose phallic emblems, as we know, were usually erected near or over the mounds entombing the ashes or even bodies of the departed saints or potentates.[14]

REFERENCES TO ŚIVA-LIṄGA WORSHIP

R. G. Bhandarkar rightly points out that it was in the fourteenth chapter of the Anuśāsana-parva of the *Mahābhārata* that one finds a clear reference to Śiva-liṅga worship. Upamanyu while recounting the glories of Śiva before Krishṇa says 'that Mahādeva was the only god, whose organ of generation (Liṅga) is worshipped by men' (*op. cit.*, p. 114). The sage further observes that 'as Brahmā, Vishṇu and yourself with other gods always worship his Liṅga, he is the highest (among you all). No being bears the mark of a lotus, a discus or a thunder-bolt (on their body); but all beings of Maheśvara have the marks of male or female organ of generation (on their bodies)'.[15] The way in which these observations of the Ṛishi is put leaves little doubt that the emblem as mentioned here is the conventional Śivaliṅga of later days having the full design of 'Liṅgaṁ in Arghya', and not simply the male organ itself. It may be incidentally stated here that this textual datum along with the archaeological ones put forward earlier proves the real and original character of the emblem, and gives the direct lie to the hypotheses of some persons who explain it differently. There are at least two or three passages in the *Mahābhārata* where Mahādeva is described under different forms. One in the Sauptika-parva is undoubtedly phallic, where the god is said to have cut off his organ of generation which stuck into the ground (Ch. 17, 21-3). In the same *parva* in an earlier chapter (Ch. 17, 13-14), the god appeared before Aśvatthāmā after being prayed to by him as a golden alter with fire emanating from it (*Purastāt kāñchanī vedī prādurāsīn mahātmanaḥ | tasyāṁ vedyāṃ tadā rājaṁśchitrabhānurajāyata*). The third occasion is in the Kirātārjuna episode of the Vana-parva, where Arjuna being vanquished by Kirāta (Śiva in disguise) is said to have worshipped the god by making an earthen altar and putting garlands on it (*Śaraṇyaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā bhagavantaṁ piṇākinam | mṛiṇmayaṁ sthaṇḍilaṁ kṛitvā mālyenāpūjayadbhavam*). When Arjuna saw that his floral offerings to his god symbolised by the *sthaṇḍila* were automatically transferred to the head of the Kirāta, he realised the correct identity of the latter. It is not certain whether the *vedī* and the *sthaṇḍila* of the last two extracts are euphemistic descriptions of the phallic emblem of Śiva.

PHALLISM AND OTHER TRAITS OF ŚIVA

It is very likely, if not certain, that the practice of worshipping Śiva in the form of a realistic phallic symbol by his devotees was one of the reasons for the god and his votaries being deprecated by many other sections of the Indian people in the early period. The abhorrence of the Vedic sages for the Śiśnadevas has been commented on earlier, and this aversion appears to have continued for a long time among many of the orthodox sections of Indians. The composers of the early approved Śāstras generally belonged to this section, and it was natural that they would not refer to it openly in their writings. Archaeology shows that it was prevalent among some people from fairly early times, and writers of the early Smṛiti and other texts appear to have mostly kept their eyes purposefully shut on it. R. G. Bhandarkar is partially correct in his statement, 'as the Rudra-Śiva cult borrowed several elements from the dwellers in forests and stragglers in places out of the way, so it may have borrowed this element of phallic worship from the barbarian tribes with whom the Āryas came in contact' (p. 115). The word 'barbarian' here should, however, be changed into 'un-Aryan' or 'non-Aryan'; his further statements following the above, such as 'the Liṅga worship had not come into use at the time of Patañjali' (for the grammarian refers to an image, not a *liṅga*, of Śiva), or 'it seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema Kadphises' (for no Śiva-liṅga appears on his coins) should have to be modified. The un-Aryan or non-Aryan people were not all barbarians, and the absence of any reference to the Śaiva emblem in the *Mahābhāshya* can be explained by what has been said above by me. It will be shown in my next lecture that the acceptance and glorification of the emblem by the Smārtas of subsequent days was due to the gradual subsidence and conventionalisation of its stark realism.

That Rudra-Śiva was outside the pale of the Vedic gods and Vedism (*vedabāhya*) is emphasised in the story of the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice by Śiva narrated with more or less elaboration in the two epics and many of the Purāṇas. The kernel of the story is that Daksha Prajāpati invited all the gods to participate in the sacrifice performed by him, but he did not invite Rudra-Śiva on account of his outlandish, unsocial and unorthodox behaviour, though he was one of his sons-in-law. Satī, Rudra-Śiva's wife and one of Daksha's daughters, went uninvited to the sacrifice, and gave up her life on her father reviling Śiva in her presence. This enraged the god immensely, and he had the sacrifice destroyed and Daksha and other gods assembled there punished by his companions, Vīrabhadra and the other Gaṇas. The nucleus of this mythology is undoubtedly found in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* where we are told that the gods were sharing among themselves the animals (sacrificed to them in the ceremonies); but they avoided Rudra (in this sharing; VII. 9, 16—*Devāḥ vai paśūn vyabhajanta te Rudramantarāyan*). The Daksha-yajña story as told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 66, 7ff.) is the shortest, while, in the Sauptika- and the Śānti-parva of the *Mahābhārata*, it is far more elaborate. In the Śānti-parva account the sage Dadhīchi upholds the greatness of

Rudra-Śiva before the assembled gods and Ṛishis, and describes him as the creator and preserver, lord of the world and all beings, as well as the real presiding deity over the sacrifices. One statement by Daksha in reply to Dadhīchi's exhortations on behalf of Mahādeva needs mention here. He says that 'true it is that there are many Rudras numbering eleven, who wear spirally braided matted locks of hair, and who hold trident in their hands; but I do not know of Maheśvara' (*Santi no bahavo Rudrāḥ śūlahastāḥ kapardinaḥ | Ekādaśa-sthānagatā nāhaṁ vedmi Maheśvaram*). Here is a clear attempt to distinguish between Vedic Rudra and Paurāṇic Rudra-Śiva. The narration of this episode in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, however, is the most elaborate (IV. 2-7). Daksha here reviles the object of devotion of the Śaivas as monkey-eyed, roaming in the burning ground with his attendants the *pretas* and *bhūtas*, impure and bereft of any rites, naked, with matted locks on his head, wandering here and there like a mad man sometimes laughing and at other times crying, bathing in ashes of the funeral pyres, wearing bones and garlands of skulls as ornaments, really inauspicious (*aśiva*) though named Śiva, mad and beloved of the insane, endowed with *tamoguṇa*, and other vile epithets. It will be shown in the next lecture that some of the *vidhis* of the Pāśupata *vrata* followed these lines, and these were abhorred by ordinary social men.

Such was the great and composite god Śiva of the epic and Paurāṇic times, round whom the cult developed. But it must be observed at the same time that, in the course of the development of the cult, the cult-god was transformed into one of the most exalted divine entities of India, who became the centre of high and sublime religious philosophy expounded by various intellectual thinkers and theologians belonging to the different groups of his worshippers.

REFERENCES

1. For further observations on this point, cf. Banerjea, *DHI*, 2nd edition, pp. 161 ff.
2. *R.V.*, X. 136. Some of the relevant extracts from the hymn are quoted below :—

   Keśyagniṁ Keśī vishaṁ Kesī bibharti rodasī |
   Keśī viśvaṁ svardṛiśe Kesīdaṁ jyotiruchyate ||
   Munayo vātaraśanāḥ piśaṁgā vasate malā | . . .
   Unmaditā mauneyena vātam ā tasthimā vayam |
   ....
   ....
   Vāyurasmā upāmaṁthat pinashṭi smā kunannamā |
   Keśī vishasya pātreṇa yadrudreṇāpibat saha ||
3. Kielhorn, *Mahābhāshya*, Vol. I, pp. 331, 424; Vol. III, pp. 414, 403. Vedic Rudra was a healer of diseases by means of various medicinal plants ; this trait also appertains to the epic and Purāṇic Ṣiva. The *Mahābhārata* refers to human sacrifices for Rudra-Ṣiva (cf. the story of Jarāsandha).
4. Patañjali dubs a royal official as a *pārśvaka*, and says that 'he is called a *pārśvaka* for he wants to achieve an end by crooked means, which could be gained by straightforward methods' (*Yo ṛijunopāyenānveshṭavyān arthān anṛijunopāyenānvichchhati sa uchyate pārśvakaḥ*).
5. For a detailed study of the glyptic and numismatic devices of Ṣiva, see Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff. and Plates.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 257, Pl. IX, figs. 8-9. My suggestion here appears to be more likely, for the figure is presented in association with the theriomorphic form of Ṣiva.
8. Hiuen Thsang's reference to a temple of Īśvara Deva, near the shrine of his consort, the goddess Bhīmā, at Bhīmāsthāna in the heart of Gandhāra, will be dealt with in my lecture on Ṣāktism (Lecture VI).
9. It was R. G. Bhandarkar who first suggested that in the epithet *mahiśvara* of the coin legend a probable reference to the sectarian name Pāśupata-Māheśvara is found (*op. cit.*, p. 117); he is evidently right. The word may also be taken as the Kharoshṭhī Prakrit variant of *Mahīśvara* and interpreted as 'the lord of earth' which is unlikely in this context.
10. *JISOA*, Vol. IV, 1936, p. 130, Pl. xxiii fig. 1. V. S. Agrawala was correct in his interpretation of this interesting relief.

11. For these coins, refer to J. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 85, No. 2, Pl. XI, No. 2; p. 233, Nos. 154 and 154a, Pl. XXXV. 5; p. 243, No. 19, Pl. XXXVI, No. 15.
12. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-57, Pl. XXXI, fig. 3. Gopinatha Rao dated the sculpture in the 2nd century B.C.; but Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch placed it a century later.
13. R. D. Banerji's account of it was published in *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1909-10. Rao's interpretation of the sculpture and comments on it appeared in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pp. 63-65, and Plate.
14. All these points were discussed at some length by me in my article on 'The Phallic Emblem in Ancient India' published in *J. I.S.O.A.*, Vol. III, 1935, pp. 40 ff.
15. Verses 230-33 of the 14th *adhyāya* read—
    Na śuśruma yadanyasya liṅgamabhyarcitaṁ suraiḥ |
    Kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvairliṅgaṁ muktvā Māheśvaram ||
    Archyaterchitapūrvaṁ vā brūhi yadyasti te śrutiḥ |
    Yasya Brahmā cha Vishṇuścha tvaṁ chāpi saha daivataiḥ ||
    Archayethāḥ sadā liṅgaṁ tasmāchchhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ |
    Na padmāṅkā na chakrāṅkā na vajrāṅkā yataḥ prajāḥ |
    Liṅgāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmān Māheśvarī prajāḥ ||

LECTURE V

ŚAIVISM—II

ŚIVA-BHĀGAVATAS AND PĀŚUPATAS

It has been pointed out in my last lecture that the earliest sure reference to a class of the exclusive worshippers of Śiva is found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya.* One *sūtra* of Pāṇini (IV. 1, 112) may contain the possible mention of such a sect; but the Śiva-bhāgavatas of the commentator clearly refers to a class of people to whom Śiva was the holiest and most worshipful deity as their one personal god. The use of the word *bhāgavata* in the compound should be noted in this connection. It was also used at about the same time to denote a foreign convert to Vāsudeva-worship (Bhāgavata Heliodora of the Besnagar inscription), and it seems that the term at first had a general application to the exclusive adorers of one personal god. But there was no doubt that it was shortly to be applicable only to those who were affiliated to the cult of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. The word denoting those who were the adherents of the other major cult, that of Śiva-Paśupati, appears to have been mainly Pāśupata at first, and then Śaiva. Though Patañjali does not use the word in this context, it is presumable that he means it. The Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* names the Pāśupata school as one of the five systems, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcharātra, Veda and Pāśupata. This notice of the Pāśupata sect and their system, though undoubtedly later in point of date than Patañjali's description of the Śiva-bhāgavatas, is yet one of the earliest uses of the word. Its comparative lateness is further emphasised by the epic writer's description of the system as Pāśupata-jñāna. The passage in the Śānti parva (Chapters 64-67) records that 'Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha, the consort of Umā, the lord of spirits and the son of Brahmadeva, taught the Pāśupata-jñāna' (*Umāpatirbhūtapatiḥ Śrīkaṇṭho Brahmaṇaḥ sutaḥ* | *Uktavān idamavya-*

gro jñānaṁ Pāśupataṁ Śivaḥ). This refers to the systematised theology of the Pāśupata-darśana which might not have been evolved in the time of Patañjali.

LAKULĪŚA

R. G. Bhandarkar was justifiably doubtful about finding any reference to a historical figure as the founder of the Pāśupata system in the Nārāyaṇīya passage. Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha as described in it denotes the god himself, and it will not be possible to find in it any covert reference to a human agency. D. R. Bhandarkar proved long ago on the basis of textual and epigraphic data that the Pāśupata system was founded by Lakulīśa the 28th or last incarnation of Śiva.[1] The accounts given in the different Purāṇas, like the *Vāyu*, *Kūrma* and *Liṅga*, about this Avatāra of Śiva are almost similar in broader details. The story as given by them can be briefly summarised here. Mahādeva told Brahmā that, at the time of the 28th repetition of the Yugas when Vāsudeva, the best of the Yadus, would be born among men, he would incarnate himself as a Brahmachārin with the name of Lakulin after getting into a corpse thrown into the burning ground of a place called Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarohaṇa in Western India. He would have four disciples known by the names of Kuśika, Mitra, Garga and Kaurushya. Lakulin or Lakulīśa (also sometimes known as Nakulīśa) would be associated with the Pāśupata system, and his four immediate disciples would also be connected with different subsects, all for the propagation of Śiva worship in vigorous ways.[2] The Pāśupatas will ceremonially besmear the different limbs of their bodies with ashes and resort to the Māheśvara-yoga for attaining to Rudraloka after death. An early medieval inscription in the temple of Nātha near that of Ekaliṅgajī about 14 miles to the north of Udaipur (Rājasthān) contains almost the same information. Another inscription usually known as Cintra Praśasti (for it was taken from a temple at Somanātha in the Kathiawar Peninsula to the town of Cintra in Portugal) also informs us the same thing, but names the four immediate disciples of

Lakulīśa in a slightly different way as Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitreya, and further states that each of them became the originator of a subsect. This inscription belongs to the 2nd half of the 13th century A.D., while the first one is dated in V.S. 1028 (971 A.D.). That the tradition about Lakulīśa appears to have been current in the Karnāṭa country from a still earlier period is proved by another epigraph dated 943 A.D. found at Hemāvatī (Mysore), in which it is recorded that Lakulīśa was reborn as Muninātha Chilluka to preserve his name and doctrine.

DATE OF LAKULĪŚA

R. G. Bhandarkar, after a careful consideration of the textual and archaeological data mostly collected by D. R. Bhandarkar, was inclined to place 'the rise of the Pāśupata school mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya......about the second century B.C.' (*op. cit.*, p. 117). Though he does not expressly say so, it appears that he believed that Lakulīśa flourished at the same time, for he was the founder of the system which was referred to by Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) as Śiva-bhāgavata. But long after the publication of R. G. Bhandarkar's work, the Mathurā stone pillar inscription of the time of Chandragupta II, dated Gupta year 61 (381 A.D.), was discovered, and it throws a very interesting light on the problem of Lakulīśa's date. The inscription records 'the erection of two images called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara (really two Śiva-liṅgas named after Kapila and Upamita, the teacher and the teacher's teacher of the donor), in the *Gurvāyatana* (abode of the teachers) by one *Ārya Mahattara* Uditāchārya, the Maheśvara (Pāśupata) teacher'. *Ārya Mahattara* Uditāchārya is described in the inscription as tenth (in the apostolic succession) from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara.[3] D. R. Bhandarkar, who edited this inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, identified Kuśika with the first of the four immediate disciples of Lakulīśa, and thus Ārya Udita was eleventh in apostolic succession from Lakulīśa. Allotting twenty-five years to each of the ten predecessors of Udita, one can place Lakulīśa in the first half of the second century A.D. In that case, Lakulīśa could not have been the founder of the Śiva-bhāgavata sect mentioned by Patañjali who is usually assigned to the second century B.C. Further deduction from this line of argument will be that Śiva-bhāgavata and Pāśupata were two separate orders which originated in different periods, one before the second century B.C. and the other in the 2nd century A.D. In that case Māheśvara Wema Kadphises cannot be regarded as belonging to the Pāśupata sect, but was probably affiliated to the earlier order of the Śiva-bhāgavatas, for he is almost unanimously placed in the first century A.D.

It has been earlier pointed out by me that the ritual practices of the Śiva-bhāgavatas as cryptically alluded to by Patañjali seem to have an affinity with some of the *vidhis* of the Pāśupatas, and the close relation of the two orders may be accepted *prima facie*. This affinity between the two, however, does not necessarily imply that the two Śaiva creeds originated at the same time. It might indicate, on the other hand, that a Śaiva order not dissimilar to the Pāśupata in some of its rituals was in the field long before the days of Lakulīśa, the reputed founder of the latter. It is probable that what he did was to systematise and organise an already existing Śaiva sect much as Basava did centuries afterwards in organising and systematising the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata sect of Southern India long ago founded by a school of Brāhmaṇa teachers. Basava, however, was more of a political leader than Lakulīśa whose contribution in the matter of developing the Pāśupata creed was so great that his name came to be primarily associated with it in subsequent times.[4] Mādhavāchārya, while describing the tenets of the Pāśupata creed in his *Śarvadarśanasaṁgraha,* calls it Nakulīśa-Pāśupata; much earlier the *Pāśupatāchārya* Rāśīkara Kauṇḍinya, while writing a commentary on the *Pāśupata-sūtras* the authoritative text of the order, cites a list of the Guruparamparā, at the top of which is placed Lakulīśa. Mādhavāchārya says that Lakulīśa was the author of a text known by the name of *Pañchādhyāyī* or *Pañchārthavidyā*, from which he even quotes a passage which means 'a Pāśupata should bathe three times a day, he should lie upon the dust. Oblation is an observance divided into six members'.[5]

ĀJĪVIKA, ŚIVA-BHĀGAVATA AND PĀŚUPATA

Before something is said about the main tenets of the Pāśupata system and mention is made of some illustrious members of the creed, its possible association with Ājīvikism may be discussed here. Roving monks with a bamboo staff in their hands are described by Pāṇini in his *sūtra—maskara-maskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ* (VI. 1, 154). Patañjali commenting on this *sūtra* remarks that a mendicant carrying a bamboo staff always says, 'No works are to be done by you men, for it is peace which is your highest end' (*mā kṛita karmāṇi mā kṛita karmāṇi śāntirvaḥ śreyasītyāha maskari-parivrājakaḥ*). These Maskari-Parivrājakas have unanimously been identified by scholars with the Ājīvikas, the early exponents of whose tenets were Maskari(Makkhali-Maṅkhali) Gosāla and his two predecessors, Nanda Vachchha and Kisa Saṁkichchha. Maṅkhali Gosāla being a contemporary of the Buddha, the Ājīvika sect appears to have come into existence sometime before the 6th century B.C. Though the Ājīvikas were occasionally associated with the Jainas and at other times with the followers of the Buddha, they were not truly affiliated to either, for both the Buddhists and Jainas repudiated this association. Some scholars at one time suggested that this sect was wholly merged into that of the Jainas after the begining of the Christian era. But the suggestton is untenable, for it existed as a separate entity in Southern India at least upto the 13th-14th century A.D., as clearly proved by inscriptions. There was at one time some controversy about their exact affiliation, and Kern and Bühler once suggested that they were worshippers of Nārāyaṇa. But this was disproved by D. R. Bhandarkar who suggested that the expression *bābhanesu ājīvikesu* in Pillar Edict VII of Aśoka means 'Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas' who were not simply Śramaṇic but also Brāhmaṇic.[6] If this view is accepted, then it may be conjectured that these Brāhmanical Ājīvikas, or rather a section of them, preceded the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas and the Śiva-bhāgavatas. The Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra* informs us that Maskari Gosāla, when residing in the potter-woman Hālāhalā's house at Śrāvasti prior to his death, performed such senseless and shameless acts as 'holding a mango in his hands, drinking, dancing, improperly soliciting the potter-woman Hālāhalā, and sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water from a potter's vessel'—all in the delirium of fever. But such apparently insane and shameless acts distinctty remind us of some of the Pāśupata rites that were enjoined in the texts for the attainment of supernatural powers by the members of the order. The Ājīvikas, probably their Brāhmanical section, also besmeared their bodies with dust and ashes, and did such things as 'eating the ordure of a calf', 'squatting painfully on the heals', 'swinging in the air like bats', 'reclining on thorns' and 'scorching themselves with five fires' (Jātakas, Nos. 390 and 493). The *Majjhimanikāya* (II, Tevijjavacchagottasutta), a far earlier text, describes them as a particular class of religious people, who practised many other outlandish and difficult rites. Buddhaghosha at a much later period refers to the ash-besmeared Parivrājakas and other Brāhmaṇical ascetics (*Bahmaṇānañcha Bahmaṇajātīyapāshaṇḍānañcha paṇḍaraṅgaparibbājakānañcha*) in his *Samantapāsādikā* (I, p. 44). These Pāṇḍarāṅga-parivrājakas and heretics of the Brāhmaṇa caste appear to have been Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas, and some of their religious practices distinctly remind us of the Pāśupata rites. On the basis of these literary data, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that these Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas were, in the beginning, a class of Śiva-worshippers like the Pāśupatas. Jarl Charpentier arrived at an almost similar conclusion following a different line of argument. He remarked that the Ājīvikas originally had nothing to do with Gosāla especially, but was a much older name designating a sect to which he originally belonged, and that the name was afterwards transferred to his disciples.[7]

PĀŚUPATA RITES

There is a very old text *Pāśupata-sūtras* by name, about the authorship and age of which nothing definite is known. A Pāśupatāchārya known by the name of Rāśīkara Kauṇḍinya wrote an elaborate commentary on it in the Gupta period. Mādhavāchārya appears to have based his account of the

Nakulīśa-Pāśupata-darśana in his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* at a much later period (14th century A.D.) on this text and its commentary. Mādhava's account is a handy compendium of the Pāśupata tenets as presented in the earlier texts, and this is the reason why R. G. Bhandarkar mainly utilised it in his summary presentation of the Pāśupata system (*op. cit.*, pp. 121-24). The system mainly deals with five categories, such as (1) effect (*kārya*), (2) cause (*kāraṇa*), (3) union (of the individual soul with the supreme soul—*yoga*), (4) measures (to be adopted by the Pāśupatas for the attainment of righteousness —*vidhi*) and (5) the cessation of misery (*duḥkhānta*).

The fourth category *vidhi* should be noted here first in order to emphasise the similarity between the Pāśupata practices and some of the Ājivika rites described above. The primary measures for the attainment of perfection and righteousness are known as *charyā* (conduct) which is of two kinds known as *vrata* (vows) and *dvāra* (means or door). The different practices like 'besmearing the various parts of the body with ashes thrice a day', 'lying down in ashes', 'laughing, singing dancing, making a peculiar sound with tongue and palate' (*huḍukkāra* in imitation of the bovine sound), 'prostration', 'muttering *mantras*', etc., are the main features of the Pāśupata *vrata*. The door (*dvāra*) which helps the Pāśupata ritualist's entrance into the path of righteousness is of six kinds, (1) *krāthana* (feigning sleep when really awake, (2) *spandana* (shaking limbs like a paralytic, (3) *maṇḍana* (appearing to have no control over the legs and other limbs in the time of walking), (4) *śṛiṅgaraṇa* (expressing erotic gestures at the sight of a beautiful young woman), (5) *avitatkaraṇa* (indulging in unsocial, despicable and insane acts) and (6) *avitadbhāshaṇa* (speaking absurd and senseless words). The secondary measures of the *charyā* are also of nearly the same type, such as, 'rubbing ashes on the body after worshipping the Śiva-liṅga', 'putting on his body the flowers, *bel* leaves and garlands already offered to the deity', 'eating food left over by others', etc. The *Pāśupata-sūtras* describe some of the aforesaid *vidhis* in various ways.[8] Most of these measures are unsocial and outlandish in character, and the system along with its two offshoots, Kāpālika and Kālāmukha, has been rightly adjudged as *Atimārgika* or the schools that are outside the orderly path. The sixth and eighth *sūtras* of the fourth chapter of the *Pāśupata-sūtras* should be particularly noted in this connection. The sixth one reads *Unmattavadeko vichareta loke* (a Pāśupatavratin would wonder among men like a lunatic), and the eighth reads *unmatto mūḍha ityevaṁ manyante itare janāḥ* (common people would consider him as a mad man and a dunce). The commentator Kauṇḍinya has described such acts of a Pāśupata initiate as contrary to the actions of a Brāhmaṇa (*avyaktapretonmattādyaṁ Brāhmaṇakarmāviruddhaṁ karmaṁ*). At least some of these apparently strange and insane Pāśupata mesures appear to have been practised by the earlier Śiva-bhāgavatas and the Ājīvikas.

The first category (*kārya*) is divided into three units, (a) true knowledge (*vidyā*), (b) organs (*kalā*) and (c) individual entity (*paśu*). The first of these units (*vidyā*) is the attribute of the third (*paśu* or *jīvātman*, the individual soul), and the second (*kalā*) in its plurality of twenty-three (consisting of all the twenty-four *tattvas* of the Sāṅkhya system except the last one, the visible world) resort to *paśu*. The first ten of the twenty-three (five *mahābhūtas* and five *tanmātras*) are effects, while the last thirteen (five sense organs, five physical organs, mind, intellect and sense of ego) appertain to the causal aspect of the organs. As long as the individual soul is tied to these organs with its body, it is impure, and it finally attains purity as these bonds are gradually released. The second category (*kāraṇa*) refers to the one god who is the creator, preserver and destroyer at one and the same time. He is almighty, omnipotent, naturally powerful and lord of all. The third category (*yoga*) characterises the union of the *paśu* with *pati* through *chitta* (conceptual faculty), and is of two kinds, *sātmaka* (consisting of action such as muttering *mantras*, *dhyāna*, *japa*, etc.) and *nirātmaka* (cessation from action—attaining the union through intense feeling, *saṁvid*). It is true that the *nirātmaka-yoga* is the better of the two; but the first is necessary in the beginning for it helps the individual to raise himself to the former by preparatory efforts, The fifth category of the Pāśupata doctrine is *duḥkhānta* or cessation of misery. The author of the *Pāśupata-sūtras* says, 'due to the grace of god one who is under no illusion attains to the end of misery' (*apramādī gochchhet duḥkhānām antam Īśaprasādāt*—IV. 42). The upholder of the Pāśupata-vrata attains to this goal of transcending all the three kinds of misery, *ādhyātmika*, *ādhidaivika* and *ādhibhautika*.[9] But the end of all these miseries through divine grace is not the only goal desired by him; he also is desirous of the attainment of some supernatural powers. The author of the *Pāśupata-sūtras* says that a Pāśupata Yogī will in the end possess five types of supernatural knowledge and three kinds of divine power of acting. The former consist of (1) the power of seeing all objects which are very minute, hidden or lying at a great distance (*dūra-darśana*), (2) the power of hearing all sorts of sounds (*śravaṇa*), (v) the miraculous knowing of all objects of thought (*manana*), (4) the miraculous power of knowing all the sciences written or otherwise (*vijñāna*), and lastly (5) *sarvajñatā* (supernatural efficiency in the knowledge of the real and root meaning of all kinds of *śāstras* written or unwritten, thought of or not, etc.). The three divine powers of acting are—*manojavitva*, *kāmarūpitva* and *vikaraṇadharmitva*. By the first, the performance of whatever action will arise in his mind, he will be able to finish instantaneously; the second will enable him to assume whichever form and figure he likes, while by the third he will possess and exercise great power, even when he will be in suspended animation.[10] All these and other supernatural powers will be acquired by a Siddha Pāśupata Yogī, and after their attainment he will achieve the rank of the Mahāgaṇapati to the Lord Mahādeva (*Ityetairguṇairyukto bhagavato Mahādevasya mahāgaṇapatirbhavati*—Ch. I, *sūtra* 38). Rāśīkara Kauṇḍinya, however, strikes a note of sanity by emphasising the Yogic character of the Pāśupata *tantra* and observing that the future attainment of the supernatural powers noted above is by way of alluring the Pāśupata Yogī for striving after success (*raṅgapatākādivat śishyapralobhanārthamidam*).

KĀPĀLIKA AND KĀLĀMUKHA

The Pāśupata appears to have been the principal Śaiva sect in the Gupta period, and two other Śaiva creeds known as Kāpālika and Kālāmukha, almost contemporaneous with it, were its offshoots of an extreme character. The antiquity of the first of the two seems to go back to the 7th century A.D. or even earlier. The worship of Śiva as Kapāleśvara was prevalent in distant regions of India as the two copper-plate inscriptions, one found at Nirmand (Kangra District, Panjab) and the other at Igātpurī (Nasik District, Maharashtra), prove. The first records 'the allotment of the village of Śūlīśagrāma by *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Samudrasena (c. 7th century A.D.) to a body of the Brāhmaṇas who studied the *Atharvaveda* at the *agrahāra* of Nirmanda, for the purpose of worshipping the god Tripurāntaka (Śiva) who, under the name of Mihireśvara, had been installed by his mother Mihiralakshmī at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapāleśvara.[11] The name Mihireśvara most probably denoted a Śiva-liṅga not necessarily signifying a syncretic combination of Saura and Śaiva worship as suggested by Fleet, but a type of *svākhyaliṅga* in which the names of the emblem as well as that of the donor are combined (*Mihira* of Mihiralakshmī and *Īśvara*). The temple of Kapāleśvara, inside the compound of which the smaller Mihireśvara shrine appears to have been erected, was originally constructed probably by the Maukhari king *Paramamāheśvara Mahārāja* Śarvavarman. The name Kapāleśvara of the earlier Śiva-liṅga is to be noted, for it seems to prove incidentally that the sect of the Kāpālikas, the worshippers of Śiva, the Kapālī or Kapālīśvara, had long been in existence before Śarvavarman. The body of the Ātharvaṇa Brāhmaṇas settled in the *agrahāra* of Nirmanda, to whom Samudrasena donated the village of Śūlīśagrāma, were evidently Śaiva clericals, possibly Kāpālikas, who were in charge of the earlier shrine of Kapāleśvara and the later one of Mihireśvara. Mihireśvara is specifically described in the inscription as 'compassionate to those who worship him and the destroyer of all their sorrows' (*sarvaduḥkhakshayakara*) having an allusion to the last Pāśupata *tattva.*

The Igātpurī copper-plate inscription of Nāgavardhana, the nephew of the Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II, records the grant of a village near Igātpurī, 'for the worship of the god Kapāleśvara, and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple'. The 'great vow' (*mahāvrata*) of a Kāpālika or a Kālāmukha far exceeded the peculiar rites of a Pāśupata, noted above, in outlandishness. One of this was that of the attainment of the highest happiness through concentrating his mind on the supreme soul (in this context no other than the cult deity) seated on the female organ. Kṛishṇamiśra makes a Kāpālika introduce himself in the drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* in this way—'My necklace and other ornaments are made of human bones; I break my ceremonial fast by drinking consecrated wine from the skull cup of a Brāhmaṇa corpse; our sacrificial fire is kept burning with the offering of human flesh, skull, lung, etc.; we propitiate our terrific and fierce god by offering him human blood and sacrifice'. A statement of Kṛishṇamiśra is worth-noticing in this connection. He says that 'extremists like the Kāpālikas have been driven out of many countries and have (now) gradually concentrated in the countries of the Mālavas and the Ābhīras (i.e. in a corner of Western India)'; he has characterised this region as 'the habitation of vile wretches'. The reason for the unpopularity of these fierce sectaries is found in their unsocial and terrific religious practices. The Kālāmukha rites also consisted of such abhorrent actions as 'eating food from a human skull', 'rubbing ashes of a burnt human corpse all over his body', 'eating those ashes', 'always keeping with him wine inside a *Kapāla* and invoking his god in it'. Among these religious extremists, however, there was a lessening of the stringency of caste-rigour, for according to them there was no barrier to men of lower castes to be intiated in the *mahāvrata,* and any such properly initiated person was regarded as belonging to the highest caste. The *Śaṅkaradigvijaya-kāvya* of Mādhava relates the encounter of the Kāpālika-guru Krakacha with Śaṅkarāchārya. Krakacha invoked his god Bhairava in the pot of wine in his hand and requested him to destroy Śaṅkara. But, as Śaṅkara himself was an incarnation of Śiva, the latter killed Krakacha. Śrīśailam in the Andhra country has been described in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* as the most important sanctuary of the Kāpālikas. Nilakanta Sastri has shown that, in many places in the south of India, the Kālāmukha sect was very strong in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D. (*The Coḷas*, pp. 648-49). R. G. Bhandarkar proved on the basis of a number of medieval inscriptions that these two extreme schools of Śaivism were known as the branches of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata sect (*op. cit.*, pp. 119-20). Bāṇabhaṭṭa's description of the Pāśupatas in his *Kādambarī* as dressed in 'red garments' (*raktapaṭa*) may be compared with that of the Kāpālika Aghoraghaṇṭa in the *Mālatīmādhava*.

PĀŚUPATA CULT IN THE GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA AGES

Before a brief account of the moderate school of Śaivism, also an offshoot of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata system, is given, it will be necessary to give an idea about the general prevalence of the cult in the pre-Gupta, Gupta and post-Gupta periods on the basis of archaeology and literary data. Some numismatic devices of the later Ḳushāṇas as well as the Western Kshatrapas, such as Śiva and bull, the three- or six-peaked hill symbol with or without a crescent on its top (according to Coomaraswamy this symbol indicated Śiva Śaśāṅkaśekhara), may suggest the cult affiliation of some of the issuers of the coins. The personal names of the later Kushāṇa rulers are not clearly known; but those of the Śaka Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas are well-known. *Rudra* formed the first component of many of their names, such as Rudra-dāman, Rudra-siṁha and Rudra-sena. It is presumable that some at least among them, if not all, were Śaiva by faith. Some of the Audumbara and Kuṇinda chiefs ruling in a corner of the modern Punjab might have been affiliated to it, for either a Śaiva shrine with a trident-battleaxe standard in front or the figure of Śiva himself with a combined *śūla-paraśu* emblem in his hand appears on the reverse of their coins. The legend on a particular type of Kuṇinda coin (*Bhagavato Chatreśvaramahātmanaḥ*) seems to indicate that Śiva might not only stand for the spiritual, but also the temporal ruler of the Kuṇinda state (*DHI*, p. 118). The imperial Gupta rulers were not Śaivas; but many of their feudatories and subjects were Śaivas. Vīrasena Śāba of the Kautsa-gotra, a courtier of Chandragupta II, caused one of the cave shrines at Udayagiri (near Bhilsa) to be constructed in honour of Śambhu out of his *bhakti* for the lord (*bhaktyā bhagavataś Śambhor guhāmetāmakārayat*). A stone Śiva-liṅga, unearthed from an old site near the village of Karamdāṇḍā (Fayzabad District, U.P.) and now in the Lucknow Museum, contains a dated inscription engraved on its base (G.E. 117=436 A.D.). This throws a very interesting light on the position of the cult in the region during the time of Kumāragupta I. It records the gift of one Pṛithivīsena, a minister of Kumāragupta I, for the *pūjā* of Mahādeva Pṛithivīśvara (another *svanāma-* or *svākhya-liṅga* like that of Mihireśvara of the Nirmand copper-plate inscription mentioned earlier) with pious offerings also to certain Brāhmaṇas from Ayodhyā who were residing in the vicinity of the Lord Śaileśvarasvāmī Mahādeva (*bhagavachchhaileśvarasvāmi-Mahādeva-pādamūle*) and who were proficient in observances, in sacred study, in the *mantras*, *sūtras*, *bhāshyas* and *pravachanas* (*tapaḥ-mantra-sūtra-bhāshya-pravachana-pāraga*). These Ayodhyā Brāhmaṇas were most probably Pāśupata clericals, well-versed in the sectarian rites and theological lore, living very near the older shrine of another earlier Śiva-liṅga known by the name of Lord Śaileśvarasvāmī. The first line of the inscription starts with the *saptākshara* (seven-syllabled) auspicious invocation *Na-mo Ma-hā-de-vā-ya* which may be compared with the *pañchākshara* Śiva-mantra *Na-maḥ Śi-vā-ya* in more common use in subsequent times. The Karamdāṇḍā Śiva-liṅga is characterised by another feature; it is not marked by that stark realism which is present in such earlier emblems like the one at Guḍimallam and others already noted, though it has not fully attained the conventional shape of the emblems of later times. The conventionalising process evidently began in the Gupta age, which culminated in their transformation in such a manner that some modern scholars thought that the emblem originated from the Buddhist votive *stūpaś* of the medieval period.

Though the imperial Gupta rulers were mostly *Paramabhāgavatas*, one at least of a later date and of a lesser rank, *Mahārāja* Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya, whose association with the earlier members of the dynasty is not clear, was a devotee of Lord Śiva. In his copper-plate inscription found at Gunaighar (Tippera District, East Pakistan), he is described as 'meditating on the feet of the Lord Mahādeva' (*Bhagavan-Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta*) ; the device of his seal was 'the bull' (Vṛishabha), Śiva himself in his theriomorphic form. The tribal lord (*janendra*) Yaśodharman living in Western India in the first half of the 6th century A.D. was a great devotee of Śiva, for he invariably calls for the grace of the god Śūlapāṇi in his inscriptions. The Hūṇa chief Mihirakula was also an exclusive worshipper of Śiva, as proved by his inscriptions and coins, the latter bearing the device of the bull Nandin with the legend *jayatu vṛishaḥ* on their reverse. The inscriptions of some other Indian chiefs of the Gupta and early post-Gupta periods prove that the creed continued to be patronised by many of them. Thus *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman, a chief of the Kosam region in Skandagupta's time, installed an image of Hara-Pārvatī on the pedestal of which the fragmentary inscription dated G.E. 139 (458-59 A.D.) was engraved (*CII*, III, pp. 266-67). All the Vākāṭaka rulers with the exception of Rudrasena II (Chandragupta II's son-in-law, and husband of Prabhāvatiguptā) were Śaivas or Pāśupatas, for they are usually described in the epigraphic records as *atyantasvāmimahābhairavabhakta* or *atyanta-Māheśvara*. *Mahārāja* Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I, is also described as belonging to the Bhāraśiva dynasty which 'owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva caused by their carrying a Śiva-liṅga placed as a load upon their shoulders'.[12] Most of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī, including its founder Bhaṭārka, were *Paramamāheśvaras*, as we know from their inscriptions. Devagupta and his son Vishṇugupta, two of the Later Gupta kings of Magadha, were *Paramamāheśvaras*, and the seall device (bull) of the Maukhari chiefs of Kanauj as well as the names of a good many of them such as Īśvara, Īśāna, etc., probably indicate their cult affiliation. But Śarvavarman was a regular Pāśupata initiate, for in his Asirgadh copper seal he is distinctly called *Paramamāheśvara.* Anantavarman, a much earlier Maukhari chief, appears to have had an eclectic type of mind, for his Nāgārjunī hill cave inscriptions show that he installed a beautiful image of Kṛishṇa, a wonderful image of Śiva-Parvatī (of the type of Ardhanārīśvara and an image of Kātyāyanī (Mahishamardinī).

PĀŚUPATA-MĀHEŚVARA RELIGION IN LITERATURE

It will be seen that in most of the inscriptions noted above, the cult designation of the kings and chiefs are *Māheśvara, Parama-Māheśvara, Atyanta-Māheśvara* or *Atyanta-Bhāirava-bhakta.* It has already been shown earlier that the Kushāṇa emperor Wema Kadphises was a Māheśvara, i.e., a Pāśupata before the cult was remodelled and reorganised by the great Lakulīśa. The systematised Pāśupatism seems to have been the principal type of Śiva cult widely prevalent in Gupta and post-Gupta India, and many of the chiefs were the adorers of the terrific aspect of the god Bhairava. The Mathurā stone inscription of *Ārya* Uditāchārya proves that the region was the haunt of the Pāśupatāchāryas of Kuśika's line, while the Cintra Praśasti shows that another branch of the Pāśupata teachers belonging of the line of Gārgya lived much later at Somanāth in the Kathiawar Peninsula. The literary data of the late Gupta and post-Gupta periods also establish the wide prevalence of the Māheśvara-Pāśupata type of Śaivism in different parts of India. Varāhamihira's mention of the *sabhasmadvijas* and Utpala's explanation of the term as Pāśupata have already been commented upon. Bhāradvāja, the author of a commentary (*uddyota*) on Vātsyāyana's *Nyāyabhāshya,* is called a Pāśupatāchārya. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang gives us very interesting information about the existence of a large number of these sectaries in different regions of India. He saw ten thousand Maheśvara-worshipping Pāśupatas at Benares, who besmeared their bodies with ashes, went naked and bound their hair in knots. In Mo-lo-ku-ta (Malaya-kūṭa) or the Malayalam-speaking country in South India, there were numerous temples of Maheśvara, and many worshippers belonging to this sect. In the Mālava region of Central India, there were hundreds of Brāhmaṇical temples, the majority of which were those of the Pāśupatas. In the far western and north-western corners of India, in the regions of Kutch, Baluchistan and Bannu, there were numerous Śaiva shrines, a good number of which being associated with the Pāśupata religion. At Lang-ka-lo situated somewhere in the modern Makran region in North Baluchistan, he saw 'a large temple of Maheśvara, very handsome, and held in great reverence by the Pāśupatas'. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Harshavardhana, testifies to the importance of the Pāśupatas and Śaivas in the kingdom of Harsha, and his description of the clericals of these sects in the *Kādambarī* is vivid.

THE ŚAIVA SCHOOL

That the Kāpālika and Kālāmukha sects of Śiva-worshippers were the two extreme offshoots of the Pāśupatas or Nakulīśa-Pāśupatas has already been shown earlier. There was another much more moderate sect bearing the name of Śaiva which appears to have also originated from the Pāśupata. The commentators of Śaṅkarāchārya's works, as has been noted by R. G. Bhandarkar, speak of four schools, Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika. The third has been named Kāruṇikasiddhāntin by Vāchaspati, while both Rāmānuja and Keśava Kāshmiri, in the course of enumerating the same four schools, describe the third as Kālāmukha. The *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā* (Part II) of the *Śiva Purāṇa* refers also to giving the pride of place to the Śaiva and attributing the same designation to the other three in this way—

Śaivāḥ siddhāntamārgasthāḥ Śaivāḥ Pāśupatāstathā |
Śaivā mahāvratadharāḥ Śaivāḥ Kāpālikāḥ parā || (24, 177).

This comparatively late Purāṇa, however, qualifies the Śaiva school as following the Siddhantamārga and mentions the

Kālāmukha Śaivas as Mahāvratadhara. A few verses earlier in the same chapter, the author of the *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā* (Part II) thus refers to Lakulīśa Pāśupata's work *Pañchārthavidyā—Atha vidyā parā Śaivī paśupāśavimochanī | Pañchārthasaṁgītā vidyā* (misprinted as *divyā*). The author of the Saṁhitā probably emphasises in this indirect manner the importance of Lakulīśa and his system in the evolution of these schools.

TENETS OF THE ŚAIVA SYSTEM

According to this system, the eternal categories are three in number (*tripadārtha*), *pati, paśu* and *pāśa*. Four are the number of its sections named *vidyā, kriyā, yoga* and *charyā* (*vidyākriyāyogacharyākhyāśchatvāraḥ*). The creative power of *pati*, the Lord Śiva, unlike that of the *kāraṇa* in the Pāśupata, depends on the actions of *paśu*, the individual, for this concept would absolve the *pati* from the faults of partiality and cruelty. The individual will enjoy or suffer according to his own actions. *Pati* has no body like that of *paśu*, but a subtle form consisting of five *mantras*—Īśāna comprising its head, Tatpurusha its face, Aghora its heart, Vāmadeva its private parts, and Sadyojāta its feet. The five actions (*pañchakṛityas*) of the Lord are *sṛishṭi* (creation), *sthiti* (preservation), *saṁhāra* (destruction), *anugraha* (grace) and obscuration (*tirobhāva*). The *mantras*, their presiding deity, Mantreśvara, no other than Maheśvara (the Laukika god, not the philosophical one), and the individual souls that have been delivered from bonds (*mukta paśu*) share the nature of the *pati*, the supreme Lord. *Paśu* enjoys a very important position in this system. When its bounds (*pāśa*) are finally removed through stages, it becomes Śiva for all practical purposes, the difference lying only in its dependence on *pati* and in not ever possessing his power of the *pañchakṛityas*. In this system, different categories of individual souls such as Vijñānākala, Pralayākala and Sakala with their respective sub-groups, such as Samāptakalusha, Asamāptakalusha and others, indicate the various stages through which the individual *paśus* have progressed in their efforts towards the attainment of *mukti*, i.e., final deliverance from the *pāśas*. *Pāśas* are of four varieties, such as *mala* (taint), *karman* (impression of deeds), *māyā* (material cause) and *rodhaśakti* (obstructive power), and they bind a Sakala-paśu. The *vidyā* or *jñānapāda* deals with the proper knowledge about the nature of the three eternal categories (*tripadārtha*), the other three *pādas* or sections are concerned with topics about various measures laid down in different Āgamas to be adopted for the gradual liberation of the fettered *paśus*. A careful consideration of the *kriyā, yoga* and *charyā* proves that the Śaivas were far more moderate in their religious beliefs and ritualistic practices than the Pāśupatas and their two other Atimārgika branches, the Kāpālika and Kālāmukha. Śambhudeva, one of the later remodellers of the Śaiva school, speaks of the three terrific types of the religious systems as having been revealed by the fierce aspect of the god Rudra, while he ascribes the revelation of the Śaiva system called by him as *Siddhāntaśāstra* (cf. the *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā's* characterisation of it as *Siddhāntamārga*) to the tranquil aspect of the god—Śiva. But, in one main point, both these groups, the *Ugra* and *Saumya* ones, are similar; both 'are dualistic or pluralistic, and maintain that the supreme and individual souls are distinct entities and *Pradhāna* the constituent cause of the material world'.[13]

THE MATTAMAYŪRAS

The Mattamayūra clan of Śaiva ascetics referred to in some medieval inscriptions of the Chedi country in Central India appears to have been affiliated to the Śaiva school discussed above. The world *Mattamayūraka* is met with for the first time in a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā-parva, 32, 4-5), where it is used as a synonym of the warlike tribe of the Yaudheyas. But this seems to have had no connection with the clan name which perhaps signified the name of a locality in Central India (probably Kadwāhā about 15 miles south of Ranod in the former Gwalior State). The Guru-paramparā of this spiritual clan begins with Rudraśambhu (Kadambaguhādhivāsī) in the Chandrehe record of the abbot Prabodhaśiva of the Kalachuri year 724 (972 A.D.), seven generations of spiritual teachers having intervened between the two. Thus on a rough calculation

Rudraśambhu's date may be fixed in the first half of the 9th century A.D., at about which time this offshoot of the Siddhāntamārga Śaiva system took shape. The Mattamayūra ascetics appear to have wielded a great power not only in Central India, but also in some other parts of the country from the 9th to the 13th century A.D., many of them serving as Rājagurus (royal preceptors). The Kalachuri rulers were mostly their disciples, and even the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) of the Andhra country claimed as his spiritual preceptor one Viśveśvaraśambhu, the founder of the Viśveśvara-Golakīmaṭha, who originally hailed from Pūrvagrāma, a village of Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha in Gauḍadeśa.

The names of the Mattamayūra-gurus almost invariably ended either in *śambhu* or in *śiva*, clearly indicating their affiliation to the moderate Śaiva school. It may be incidentally noted that those of the teachers belonging to the Atimārgika schools would almost invariably end in such suffixes as *rāśi*, *śakti* or *jīya*. A scrutiny of some of the passages occurring in the inscriptions of this Śaiva school also gives one an idea about the nature of their activities. The Chandrehe record of Prabodhaśiva describes this Mattamayūra Āchārya as 'always avoiding the company of women' (*parihṛitāṅganāsaṅgama*), who 'realised god by the performance of religious austerities and meditation', and 'living on the fruits of *priyāla*, *āmalaka* and *śāluka*', 'caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the bank washed by the river (Śoṇa) imitating his spiritual precetor (Praśāntaśiva)'. The Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalladeva II describes the town of Madhumatī as the abode of the Śaiva Siddhāntikas (*Madhumatī dhāma siddhāntikānām*), in the line of which were born 'great performers of austerities devoted to the performance of vows, taught the liberal doctrine of Śiva, which was devoid of all faults, to disciples' (*vrataniyatamanovṛittayastāpasendrāḥ śishyānāmāśasuḥ Śivamatamatanu vyastaniḥśeshadosham*). To this lineage of the Siddhāntikas were born the ascetics Chūḍāśiva, Prabhāvaśiva and Praśāntaśiva, one after another. All of them were famous for their Yogic austerities, deep religious knowledge, and construction of temples and monasteries and other beneficiary activities. Praśāntaśiva like his predecessors was not only a great master in the Śaiva Siddhāntas, but was also catholic enough to keep company of 'meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the Pāñchārthika system (Pāśupata) and were capable of examining other systems (...... *Śivatattva-jñānavichakshaṇaiścha guṇibhissārddhaṁ parīkshākshamaḥ*). Prabodhaśiva, the younger brother of Īśānaśambhu and the disciple of Praśāntaśiva, has been described in the Gurgi epigraph as 'the storehouse of renunciation, austerity and meditation' (*tyāgatapaḥsamādhinidhi*). The monasteries built for the use of, and by, the Āchāryas of the Mattamayūra order were seats of learning the Vedas and other *śāstras*; they also served as charitable houses for feeding the destitute, and as hospitals where the sick were tended. The Malkapuram pillar inscription of the Kākatīya dynasty, already mentioned, records the religious and merciful activities of the Viśveśvara-Golakīmaṭha founded by Āchārya Viśveśvaraśambhu. This holy son of the order originally hailing from a corner of Bengal caused to be built a temple, a monastery, a college, a chaultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. Somaśambhu, another Āchārya of the Golakīmaṭha, wrote the work *Somaśambhu-paddhati* in which a comprehensive account of the Śaiva Āgamas is given.[14]

EMBLEMS AND ICONS IN ŚIVA WORSHIP

Something has been said previously about the nature of the principal emblem in Śiva worship. The shape of the Karamdāṇḍā Śiva-liṅga (early 5th century A.D.) clearly indicates the attempt at suppressing the realism of the symbol, though it is fully present in a device on a contemporary seal with the inscription *Kālañjara* found by John Marshall at Bhita (*DHI*², p. 183, Pl. XI, fig. 9). Even when the full conventionalisation had taken place by the end of the Gupta period, the base of the emblem with the partly long projection (*nāla*) on one side served the useful purpose of carrytng the water poured on its top to some distance. These man-made (*mānusha*) Śiva-liṅgas or their column-like shafts consisted of three sections called

Brahmabhāga, Vishṇubhāga (square and octagonal) and Rudrabhāga or Pūjābhāga (cylindrical), the first two being inserted in the base (*arghya*) and the last projecting upwards; on its umbrella-like top water is poured, and offerings of *dūrvā* (a kind of grass), *bel* leaves, flowers, sunned rice (*akshata*) touched with sandal paste are placed. Some of these conventional Śiva-liṅgas housed in medieval Śaiva shrines are huge in size. It is the shafts which are usually very large upward projections, as in the *kshiti-liṅga* of Śiva-Kāñchī, *tejo-* or *jyotir-liṅga* of Tiruvanamalai, and the *kha-liṅga* of Kālahasti; but there is sometimes virtually no projection upwards from the base, the top part being very flat and wide in circumference (cf. the shape of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar in Orissa). But some of the much smaller Śiva-liṅgas are endowed with a ritual feature known by the name of *Brahmasūtrapātana* on the Rudrabhāga, which is indicative of its original phallism. This consists of carving some lines (the *Brahmasūtras*) on the top section of the Pūjābhāga of the emblem, which is nothing but a measure to demarcate the top part of the nut from the shaft below. This *Brahmasūtrapātana* measure is to be adopted only in the case of the Mānusha-liṅgas.

It is not known from what early period the practice of using the Śaivic emblem as the principal object to be enshrined in the main sanctum (*garbhagṛiha*) of a Śiva temple started. It seems to have started much earlier than the Gupta period. But figures of the god and his various mythological and philosophical aspects were being made from the early medieval period, if not from a much earlier time, and placed in different sections of the temple-compound. Many such sculptures in the rock-cut temples of Ellora, Elephanta, Bādāmi, etc., and the structural temples of Bhubaneswar, Khajuraho, Osia, Tanjore, Goṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram and numerous other places are great examples of the religious art of India receiving not only one-souled devotion (*ekātmikā bhakti*) of the various orders of the Śaivas and Smārtas, but also the unstinted appreciation and admiration of all genuine art-lovers of the world. One of the most sublime creations in the field of religious art of the country was the bronze Naṭarāja of the medieval Choḷa artists of South India, who gave concrete shape and form to the concentrated spiritual urge of the pious devotees of the great Śiva.

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1. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 151-53; *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1906-07, pp. 190-91.
2. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 23; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, Ch. 24; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Ch. 53; *Śiva Purāṇa*, Ch. 5.
3. *E.I.*, XXI, pp. 1-9.
4. All these points were discussed in a paper read by me in the Gwalior Session of the Indian History Congress and published in its *Proceedings*.
5. *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*; see the English translation by Cowell.
6. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd edition, pp. 177-78. Bhandarkar discussed also the problem of the Ājīvikas in an article on the topic much earlier (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, *The Ājīvikas*, p. 289).
7. *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 669-74.
8. *Pāśupata-sūtras* (No. 143 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series): I. 2—*bhasmanā trishavanaṁ snāyīta*; I. 3—*bhasmani śayīta*; I. 8—*hasitagītanṛityahuḍukkāranamaskārajapyopahāreṇopatishṭhet*; III. 11—*pretavachcharet*. Kauṇḍinya comments on the above in this way—*Unmattasadṛiśadaridrapurushāsnātamaladigdhāṅgena rūḍhaśmaśrunakharopadhāriṇā sarvasaṁskāravarjitena bhavitavyam; krātheta vā spandeta vā maṇḍeta vā śṛiṅgāreṇa vā avitatkuryāt avitadbhāsheta* (III. 12-7).
9. Rāśīkara Kauṇḍinya enumerates the three kinds of miseries in his commentary; the mental and physical miseries of the *paśu* arise from anger, lust, fear, sorrow, jealousy, malice, etc., and bodily ailments and diseases; these are *ādhyātmika*. The *ādhibhautika* miseries are of five kinds, such as (1) 'living in mother's womb in the foetal stage', (2) 'getting physical birth', (3) 'ignorance', (4) 'old age' (*jarā*) and (5) 'death'. The *ādhidaivika* sorrows are also five in number,—(1) 'fear appertaining to the worldly life' (*ihalokabhaya*), (2) 'fear concerning the next world' (*paralokabhaya*), (3) 'connection with evil' (*ahitasamprayoga*), (4) 'separation from virtue' (*hitaviprayoga*), and (5) 'unfulfilment of one's (virtuous) desire (*ichchāvyāghāta*).

10. *Pāśupatasūtra,* I. 21-5—*Dūradarśanaśravaṇamananavijñānāni chāsya pravartante* | *Sarvajñatā Manojavitvaṁ Kāmarūpitvaṁ Vikaraṇadharmitvam* | The author of the *sūtras* in the end of the first chapter enumerates a few more supernatural powers that the Siddha Yogī of this order will possess; these are—*sarve chāsya vaśyā bhavanti* (27) ; *sarve chāsya vadhyā bhavanti* (31) ; *sarveshāṁ chābadhyo bhavati* (32) ; *abhītaḥ* (33) ; *akshayaḥ* (34) ; *ajaraḥ* (35) ; *amaraḥ* (36) ; *sarvatra chāpratihatagatirbhavati* (37).
11. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 286-91.
12. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 419-20—*Aṁsabhāra-sanniveśitaśivaliṅgodvahana – Şivasuparitoshasamutpāditarājavaṁśānām parākramādhigata .... Bhāraśivānāṁ mahārāja-śrī-Bhavanāgadauhitrasya .... vākāṭakānāṁ mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasenasya sunoratyantamāheśvarasya ....* (Chammak copper-plate inscription of Pravarsena II. ll. 4-9).
13. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 127.
14. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 15 ff. V. V. Mirashi has given a very elaborate account of the Mattamayūras in the learned introduction of his *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV. Long before him, R. D. Banerji edited some of these inscriptions and gave useful information about the order in his *Haihayas of Tripurī* (*M.A.S.I.*, XXIII). In spite of some of the previous authoritative publications, Hermann Goetz held the Mattamayūras responsible for the grossly sensual bas-reliefs of many of the Khajuraho temples in an article on 'The Historical Background of the Great Temples of Khajurāho' published in *Arts Asiatiques,* Tome V (1958), Fasc. I, pp. 35 ff. The present writer has fully refuted his unscientific view in an article entitled 'The Mattamayūras and the Kaula-Kāpālikas' contributed to the Vogel commemoration volume which still awaits publication.

LECTURE VI

I—ŚAKTI WORSHIP AND TĀNTRISM

INTRODUCTION : WORSHIP OF THE FEMALE PRINCIPLE

In the preceding four lectures the early formative phases of the two major Paurāṇic and Tāntric religions have been discussed. Their beginnings and developments generally upto the end of the early medieval period have been traced and studied with the help of archaeological and literary data. In the course of their progress and systematisation, they attained the Tāntric form, and some of the texts dealing with their respective ideologies were described as Tantras. Reference may be made to the *Pādma Tantra, Lakshmī Tantra,* etc., of the Pāñcharātrins. The authoritative texts of the Pāśupatas attained also the characteristic traits of the Tantraśāstra in a general way. The later phases of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism when they were ramified into various religio-philosophical systems mostly concerned with the determination of the nature of the individual soul and the universe and their respective relationship with the Supreme Soul. These will not be discussed in the present lectures. I am here dealing with the worship of the female principle (Śakti). The characteristic form which it came to attain in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods was Tāntric in a specific sense, the two principal constituents of which were fear and sensual love.

The worship of the goddess conceived in various aspects, specially as the divine and universal mother, appears to have been in existence in India from the pre-Vedic times. Something has already been said about the 'ring stones' found in the early Indus Valley sites in the context of phallism in ancient India. Marshall explained them as so many emblems of the divine mother, which were utilised as cult objects by the contemporary people. This view was not accepted by some scholars who thought that most of these objects, especially the bigger ones among them, might stand for architectural pieces. But this opinion can hardly be accepted in preference to that of Marshall, when they are juxtaposed against almost similar, but much more decorated, flat pieces of small stone discs, with an all-through perforation in the centre, belonging to early historical periods, unearthed from such old sites as Taxila, Kosam, Rajghat, Patna, etc. They were generally made of such materials as steatite and sandstone, and were mostly similar to one another, differences between them being minor. The dissimilarity usually lay in the nature and profuseness of the surface decorations, and in some cases the small central perforation is absent. One such object of the Maurya-Śuṅga period found by Marshall at Hathial near Taxila has been described by him in this manner : 'It is of polished sandstone, 3¼″ in diameter, adorned on the upper surface with concentric bands of cross-and-cable patterns and with four nude female figures alternating with honey-suckle designs engraved in relief round the central hole'.[1] The nude female figures most probably represent the mother-goddess. Theodore Bloch, while excavating at Lauriya Nandangarh in the Nepalese Tarai region, found the impression of such a figure on a small thin gold leaf, which he thought stood for the earth goddess ; but A. K. Coomaraswamy more justifiably identified it as standing for the mother-goddess. A large number of terracotta female figurines similar to the above were unearthed at Mahenjo-daro, Harappa and other sites of the proto-historic age, which were taken to stand for tiny figures of mother-goddesses. Mackay characterised them as such, and thought that they were portable cult objects used for ritual worship by the common house-holders of the region.[2] Thus, it is not at all unreasonable to conclude that the early Indus Valley ringstones and the female figurines along with the circular discs and tiny nude female figures of the historic period collectively establish the long continued existence of the worship of the female principle in aniconic and iconic forms.

Some of the engravings found on the proto-historic sealings and 'seal-amulets' of the Indus Valley culture may be considered in this connection. A few among them may suggest in an indirect manner that the contemporary people or a section among them believed in the aspect of the divine mother as producing nourishment. An oblong terracotta seal from Harappa with impressions on both sides shows on the right side of its obverse face a nude female shown upside down with legs wide apart, and a plant issuing from her womb. This scene is compared by Marshall with one on a terracotta relief of the early Gupta period from Bhita; here the goddess is shown with her legs in much the same position, with a lotus issuing from her neck instead of from her womb.[3] The idea underlying both is similar, and can be expressed as 'the goddess as the main source of nourishment'. If this interpretation of Marshall is accepted, one can find a striking collaboration of this ideology with that beauifully expressed in a passage of the Devīmāhātmya section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Here the goddess Chaṇḍī says that she will be famed as Śākambharī in future when she will sustain the whole world after filling it up with life-giving roots and crops sprouting out of her own body in the downpour of rain'.[4] A Mohenjo-daro seal representation of a goddess, probably a 'tree-goddess', may also be noted in this context. Marshall, after an elaborate description of the seal device crowded with miniature figures, comments that 'the whole scene represents the epiphany of the tree-goddess'. It may be observed here that the goddess standing between the branches of the tree (*aśvattha*) clearly reminds one of Lakshmī of the historic times shown standing on the pericarp of a lotus flower with a lotus and leaves on long stalks spreading on her sides. A collective and thorough study of the different objects mentioned above may not supply positive and direct proof about the existence of Śakti worship of a developed type in this region at such an early date; yet there is sufficient indirect evidence regarding its beginnings.

GODDESS WORSHIP IN EARLY VEDIC TEXTS

In tracing the beginnings of goddess worship, archaeology has hitherto been the sole source. Now we shall have to turn to literature for helping us to throw some light on this problem. The early Vedic texts of the Saṁhitā (*mantra*) stage supply us some indirect evidence of a partially negative character in this quest. Most scholars agree that the place occupied in Vedic ritualism by the male gods such as Indra, Sūrya with his different aspects, Soma, Rudra, Vāyu, Varuṇa and others was never attained by the goddesses whose names are found in contemporary texts. The hymns that were sung in honour of them were much fewer in number, and no Somayāga was ever performed in honour of any of them. Macdonell says, 'Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position in Vedic belief and worship. They play hardly any part as rulers of the world.'[5] There is no doubt that his observation is mostly true; but it cannot be gainsaid that, though their number was comparatively small, yet some of them appear to have been held in high esteem on account of various reasons. To name only a few outstanding among them, Aditi, Ushā, Sarasvatī, Pṛithivī and Vāk had special features of excellence. Aditi was conceived not only as the divine mother (especially as the mother of the Ādityas), but as the mother of the whole universe. The beautiful goddess Ushā, really personifying the Dawn, has been described by the Vedic seers in some of the most poetical hymns of the *Ṛigveda*. Sarasvatī, primarily the presiding deity of the river bearing the same name, was highly respected as the goddess of learning and wisdom for on its banks a section of the Vedic texts was composed. Pṛithivī, the mother earth, was prayed to along with her consort the father sky (Dyau—Dyāvā-Pṛithivī) for pouring bounty on the people of the earth. But it was Vāk, the goddess of speech, who was given a unique place in the single hymn that was attributed to her. The 125th hymn of the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* consists of eight stanzas, which portray in a very deft and inimitable manner the idea of divine energy underlying every action of the gods and men. The goddess, described as the daughter of the sage Ambhṛiṇa, is the deity presiding over speech like Logos in Greek mythology; she ascribes to herself the sole motivating power lying at the root of every effort in this world. It has been described in the post-Vedic texts as the *Devī-sūkta*, and great was the importance assigned to it in the ritualism of the Paurāṇic Śakti worship. One section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* known as the Devīmāhātmya (also called the *Durgāsaptaśatī* and *Chaṇḍī*) is ceremonially recited every day during the autumal worship of the goddess Durgā in Bengal, and the reading of the *Devī-sūkta* along with that of the *Rātri-sūkta* invariably forms a part of the ceremonial recitation.

ŚAKTI IN THE VEDAS

It is a fact, however, that the worship of Śakti did not make any appreciable progress with any of the female deities mentioned above. Such goddesses as Ambikā, Umā, Durgā and Kālī, who individually or collectively came to be regarded as the main divinity of the Śakti cult tardily made their appearance one by one in the late Vedic texts. Though the name of Rudrāṇī (the consort of Vedic Rudra) is to be found in some early Saṁhitā texts along with those of Indrāṇī, Agnāyī and Varuṇānī (consorts of Indra, Agni and Varuṇa), these had no noticeable part to play in the growth and development of Śakti worship. Ambikā, one of the synonyms of the Paurāṇic Durgā, the principal figure in the centre of the Brāhmaṇical Hindu Śāktaism, first appears in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* of the *Śukla Yajurveda,* where she is described as the sister of Rudra (III. 57 —*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambīkayā*). She is also given the same identity in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 6, 10, 4-5) in almost the same words; but there is some difference in the second line. Here the Devī has been compared with autumn, and it has been said that Rudra destroys the people with the help of this form of his sister (*ityāha Śarad vai asya Ambikā svasā tayā vai esha hinasti*).[6] Rudra, however, has been described as the husband of Ambikā (Ambikāpati) in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 18), and this relationship between Rudra and Ambikā did hold good also in the Paurāṇc period. Sāyaṇa in his commentary on this passage calls Ambikā, the consort of Rudra, as Pārvatī, the mother of the whole universe. The association of the goddess with hills and mountains, especially in her Umā form, is very old, and we find her first described as the daughter of the Himālaya mountain (Umā Haimavatī) in the *Kena Upanishad* (III. 25). As Rudra is given the names of Giriśa or Giritra in the *Śatarudrīya,* so it is natural that one who was specially related to him in the Paurāṇic mythology should have this close association with the hills and mountains. But what is specially to be noted in this Upaniśhadic mention is that the goddess is not specifically described as Rudra's consort, but is conceived as personified Brahmavidyā, far more powerful than any of the mighty Vedic deities.

DURGĪ, KĀTYĀYAṆĪ, KANYĀ-KUMĀRĪ AND GIRISUTĀ-GAURĪ

The first stanza of the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* is worth-noting in this context. Here we find for the first time several names of the goddess which came to have a special importance in the development of Śakti worship. This verse contains the Durgā-gāyatrī which reads *Kātyāyanāya* (*Kātyāyaṇyai*) *vidmahe Kanyā-Kumārīṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt* ('We think on Kātyāyana (Kātyāyanī ?) and meditate on Kanyā-Kumārī ; may Durgī advance us'). Durgī is another form of Durgā, the name *par excellence* in connection with the Śakti *pūjā*. In the second stanza of the tenth book of the same *Āraṇyaka*, a very characteristic description is given of the goddess Durgā in this way :

Tām Agnivarṇāṁ jvalantīṁ
Vairochanīṁ karmaphaleshu jushṭām |
Durgāṁ devīṁ śaraṇamahaṁ prapadye
sutarasi tarase namaḥ ||

'I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity, daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites ; adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous goddess' (Muir, *O.S.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 427). Here in this very late Vedic text we find for the first time some of the outstanding traits of the goddess which were later so greatly developed in the epic Durgā-stotras and Paurāṇic Devī-stutis.

Kātyāyana is no doubt a variant (or an error ?) of Kātyāyanī denoting probably the special goddess worshipped by the sages of the Kātya-gotra (R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 144), and lastly Kanyā-Kumārī illustrates the virgin-daughter aspect of the goddess associated with the southernmost tip of India from a very early time. An incidental reference may be made here to a well-known Greek text, part of which deals with certain ports of India, written by a Greek mariner of the first century A.D. The name of the text is the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, in Section 58 of which the anonymous author writes, 'There is another place called Comari and a harbor; hither come those men *who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy*; and women also do the same; for it is told that *a goddess once dwelt here and bathed*' (italics are mine).[7] To a foreigner, howsoever observant he might be, this was the way to record a fact which, read between the lines, seems to suggest that there lived in the extreme southernmost part of India a devoted band of worshippers of the virgin-daughter (Kanyā-Kumārī) aspect of the goddess from a time earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. To me it appears to be one of the earliest notices of a class of Śakti-worshippers, not from an indigenous source but from a foreign one, and their mode of life was pure and austere.

We find in some late verses connected with the Śatarudrīya section of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda* some Gāyatrī-mantras of several Paurāṇic deities like Tatpurusha-Mahādeva, Kumāra-Kārttikeya, Hastimukha-Gaṇeśa, Chaturmukha-Brahmā, Keśava-Nārāyaṇa, Bhāskara-Prabhākara and others. It is of interest to note that, along with these *mantras*, is found the *gāyatrī* of Girisutā-Gaurī, which reads—*Tad-gāṅgauchyāya vidmahe girisutāya dhīmahi tanno Gaurī prachodayāt*. *Gaurī* as another designation of Gaṅgā is emphasised here, and the word *Gāṅga* and the epithet *girisutā* definitely emphasise the *Haimavatī* aspect of her Umā form mentioned in the *Kena Upanishad*. But this section of the Saṁhitā where the Gaurī-gāyatrī occurs is even later in point of date than the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* where the other names of the Devī noted above are found. They can be collectively dated sometime earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

KĀLĪ, KARĀLĪ, BHADRAKĀLĪ, ŚRĪ, BHAVĀNĪ, ETC.

The names of Kālī and Karālī, considered in the Paurāṇic context as the very terrific forms of the great goddess Durgā, are first met with in the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad;* but here they denote two of the seven tongues of Agni. The seven-tongued flaming fire is described by the sage in this way—

> *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha*
> *Sulohitā yā cha sudhūmravarṇā* |
> *Sphuliṅginī Viśvaruchī cha devī*
> *lelāyamānā iti saptajihvāḥ* || (*M.U.* I. 2, 4)

The names of the tongues are—Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphuliṅginī and Viśvaruchī. The number of the names distinctly reminds us of that of the Sapta-Mātṛikā of the subsequent times. Of the seven, the first two are common designations of the fierce aspect of the Devī in the Paurāṇic age. Reference has already been made in the preceding lecture to the temple of Karālā-Chāmuṇḍā and her worshipper the Kāpālika Aghoragraṇṭa, described by Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava.* The third name in this list, Manojavā, has been compared by Weber with Manojavas, one of the designations of Yama, which is given to the god of death in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (V. II). Weber raises the question whether this was the reason why the Devī was described as the consort of the god of death in some of the Purāṇas. The last in the list of the Sapta-Mātṛikā is Chāmuṇḍā, and she is described in some late texts as Yāmī or the consort of Yama.

Bhavānī, a very popular name of the Devī in the Paurāṇic Śakti worship, is the female form of Bhava the peaceful aspect of Rudra-Śiva, as Rudrāṇī designates the consort of Rudra the terrific aspect of the god. Bhadrakālī may be interpreted as an auspicious and pacific form of Kālī, the terrific deity. These names occur in such late Vedic texts as the *Śāṅkhyāyana-* and *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛihyasūtra.* A beautiful description of Śrī-Lakshmī is found in the Śrī-sūkta of the *Ṛigveda-pariśishṭa,* in the 17th stanza of which she is called a moon-like golden-coloured deer decorated with gold and silver ornaments (*Hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīṁ suvarṇarajatasrajām* | *Chandrāṁ hiraṇmayīṁ Lakshmīṁ jātavedo mamāvaha*). It is here perhaps that we meet the name Lakshmī for the first time, though the name Śrī appears to have been earlier. The *Śata-*

patha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 4, 1 ff.) gives us an interesting account about the origin of Śrī, which is in some way similar to the story of the origin of Pallas-Athene as narrated in Greek mythology. Śrī-Lakshmī does not seem to bear any direct connection with the Tāntric form of Śakti worship; but the developed concept of Mahālakshmī appears to have played a prominent part in the Tāntric ritualism. Śrī-Lakshmī is considered mainly as the goddess of wealth, good fortune and prosperity; but she was also specifically associated with the composite god Vāsudeva-Vishṇu of the Pāñcharātra form of religion. It has been shown in our third lecture that she personified the instrumental and material causes (*Kriyāśakti* and *Bhūtiśakti*) at the root of creation, the guiding efficient cause (*Ichchhāśakti*) being personified by her consort, Para-Vāsudeva.

PROGRESS OF ŚAKTI WORSHIP

The literary data collected above prove that the worship of the female principle was gradually making its headway; but it had not reached as yet the stage when it could find a recognised place in the religious systems of the country. Much of its form is uncertain; but still it can be said that they undoubtedly contain a lot of materials which throw some helpful light on its later development. The epic literature bears explicit indications regarding the upsurge of the cult in the early centuries of the Christian era, and it appears to have been systematised to a great extent by the beginning of the Gupta period. The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not contain any clear and definite evidence about the position of the cult in its early and late sections. The story of Rāma's worship of the goddess Durgā for her help in his efforts to destroy Rāvaṇa when he was in difficulty about this hard task as narrated in some late Purāṇas such as the *Devībhāgavata* and *Kālikā*, and in the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛittivāsa does not occur in the original Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to Vālmīki. In the original Sanskrit text the story is that Agastya advised Rāma in his difficulty to recite ceremonially the *Ādityahṛidaya-stava* in honour of the sun-god, which he taught to Rāma, in order that he might kill Rāvaṇa. The great hero followed Agastya's advice and became successful in the end. This evidence does not prove that the worship of the goddess was unknown at the time when this section of the lesser epic was composed; but it might indicate that it did not then attain to very great importance. The two Durgā-stotras in the main *Mahābhārata*, one in the Virāṭaparva (IV. 6) recited by Yudhishṭhira, and the other in the Bhīshmaparva (VI. 23) uttered by Arjuna on the advice of Kṛishṇa, and the third (*Āryā-stava*) included in the *Harivaṁśa* (Vishṇuparva, Chapter III), however, throw a flood of light on the constituents and position of the Śakti cult when these laudatory Devī-stutis were composed. Some scholars think that the first of the two Durgā-stotras is an interpolation, and according to R. G. Bhandarkar, it was a much shorter version of the *Āryā-stava* of the *Khila* (supplement) *Harivaṁśa*. He gave a summary of the two Durgā hymns of the main *Mahābhārata* and, after carefully scanning them, picked out the various strands in the composition of this form of Śakti worship.[8] A careful and comparative study of the three hymns leaves no doubt that, by the time they were composed, a great deal of development had taken place in the worship of the goddess and many elements, Vedic, epic and Purāṇic and some definitely non- or un-Aryan, had merged to give it its developed shape.

THE ĀRYĀ-STAVA AND THE DURGĀ-STOTRAS

The speciality of the Āryā-stava lies in its close-knit structure and its disposition of the various strands in the worship of the goddess. In the first three or four verses, stress is laid on her Aryan element, she being addressed as Āryā, Nārāyaṇī, Tribhuvaneśvarī, Śrī, Rātri, Kātyāyanī and Kauśikī (the goddess worshipped by the sages of the Kātya and Kuśika *gotras*). In the following few couplets (6-10), her association with hills, particularly the Vindhyas, rivers, caves, forests and gardens, her connection with various domestic and wild animals, the fact of her being worshipped with great veneration by non-Aryan tribes like the Śabaras, the Barbaras and the

Pulindas, are highlighted. This non-Aryan aspect of the Devī is further emphasised by such names as Aparṇā, Nagna-Śabarī (cf. its Mahāyāna counterpart Parna-Śabarī meaning the leaf-clad Śabara woman), etc., attributed to her in other contexts. Then are given some of her various names and characteristic attributes, among which are included her daughtership of Nandagopa and sisterhood of Baladeva (she is Ekānaṁśā in this aspect); she is the personified death and is very fond of wine, meat and sacrifice; she is both Lakshmī and Alakshmī; she is the mother of the *mantras* and the *gāyatrī* of the gods; she personifies the virginity of the young maidens and the good fortune of the married ladies, and so on. She pervades the whole universe with its constituents of all movable and immovable things, and she is the saviour in all sorts of danger, arising from war, raging fire, river-banks (i.e., danger of being drowned in the river after stepping into it from the banks), thieves, vast uncharted fields (fear of being lost in them), life away from home, incarceration due to royal disfavour, the striking of enemies, and all other sources of danger to life. Lastly the reciter of the *stava* prays that 'his mind, conception and heart may always be concentrated on her, she may protect him from all sins, and it behoves her to grant him her benediction' (*Tvayi me hṛidayaṁ devi tvayi chittaṁ manastayi* | *Raksha māṁ sarvapāpebhyaḥ prasādaṁ kartumarhasi*). In this spontaneous outpouring of the heart of a fervent devotee of the goddess Āryā, every sentiment is pure and sublime; though there is something of fear in her association with hills, mountains and wild animals, yet there is not the least hint about the sensual character of one form of Tāntric Śakti worship.

The two *Durgā-stotras* also contain no reference to this aspect of the Devī in the many names and epithets that have been attributed to her by Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna. The first Pāṇḍava describes her as the beloved of Nārāyaṇa, born in the family of Nandagopa, the destroyer of the Asuras, as having preserved the three worlds as a virgin resorting to the life-long vow of celebacy, residing in the Vindhya mountain; she is Kālī and Mahākālī, she loves wine, blood and meat being offered to her; as she saves her devotees from various duresses and misfortunes, she is sometime called Durgā. The third Pāṇḍava not only ascribes some of these names and epithets to her, but praises her as Āryā, Kāpālī, Karālī, Bhandrakālī, Chaṇḍī, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, carrying a standard made up of a bunch of peacock feathers, fond of buffalo's blood, sister of Kṛishṇa (here named Gopendra), sow-faced, producer of edible roots and plants (Śākambharī), Brahmavidyā, Vedaśruti, Sāvitrī, Vedamātā, Skandamātā, etc. A careful analysis of these names and attributes ascribed to the great goddess helps us to know something about the various factors that contributed to the growth and development of the concept of the composite goddess. In this, sublime love as well as fear played their requisite parts, and Aryan, non-Aryan and folk elements also contributed much. But we cannot say that the erotic sensual element that formed the principal feature of one form of Tāntric Śakti worship of the subsequent times had anything to do with the development of the cult up to this period.[9]

DEVĪ-STUTIS IN THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA

It will not be possible for me to discuss exhaustively in the short space of this lecture the very extensive Purāṇic data that throw a lot of light on the development of the cult in the post epic-period. But a critical and analytical study of the four *Devī-stutis*, such as *Brahma-stuti*, *Śakrādi-stuti*, *Vishṇumāyā-stava* and *Nārāyaṇī-stuti*, specially the last one, of the Devī-Māhātmya *khaṇḍa* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, one of the early and authoritative Purāṇas, helps us to know much about the nature of the Purāṇic Śakti worship. Brahmā and the other gods, being harassed from time to time by the Asuras like Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Mahishāsura, Śumbha, Niśumbha and others, resorted to the Devī and propitiated her by earnest and one-souled prayers in order that she might destroy their enemies. Brahmā at one time was very much in danger of losing his life at the hands of the two demon brothers, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, in spite of his sitting close to Vishṇu, for the latter was lying in deep Yogic sleep under the influence of the

Devī in her Yoganidrā aspect. On Brahmā's earnest prayer to her (*Brahma-stuti*) she took away her spell, and the god saved Brahmā by killing the Asuras. At another time Mahishāsura, a mighty demon, had abjectly defeated the gods and, after driving them of the heavenly kingdom, was ruling there in their place. The Devas resorted to Vishṇu and Śiva in their predicament and told them of their miseries. The latter, along with the remaining member of the triad, Brahmā, became very angry, and 'out of the accumulated anger and energy of the three and of all the other gods appeared a female covering the three worlds with her resplendence' (*Atulaṁ tatra tattejaḥ sarvadeva-śarīrajam | Ekasthaṁ tadabhūnnārī vyāptalokatrayaṁ tvishā*). It was this goddess born out of the concentrated power of all the gods who supplied to her their respective weapons, that killed Mahishāsura and his retinue after a great fight. Indra and other gods relieved of their danger uttered a pean of praise to the Devī in the fullness of their heart (*Śakrādi-stuti*). At a third time, the gods were very much harassed again by the two Asura brothers, Śumbha and Niśumbha, and they had to resort to their protectress, the all-pervading goddess Vishṇumāyā, another aspect of the Devī, with fulsome prayers and adoration (*Vishṇumāyā-stava*). She killed the two mighty demon rulers with their vast Asura army, and thus saved the gods. The gods with Indra and Agni at their head recited the best of praise, known as *Nārāyaṇī-stuti*, and this propitiated her. All this mythology about the goddess is recounted by the sage Medhas to the king Suratha and his companion, the merchant Samādhi, who wanted to know from him the origin and nature of the goddess Mahāmāyā pervading the whole world with her snares of illusion.

The Ṛishi Medhas rightly replies to the query of Suratha that 'though the goddess Mahāmāyā is eternal, and this universe is her visible form, and she pervades all, yet there are many accounts (current) about her origin and appearance (in various ages), which you may hear from me' (*Nityaiva sā jaganmūrti-stayā sarvamidaṁ tatam | Tathāpi tatsamutpattirbahudhā śrūyatāṁ mama*). Then he relates with appropriate details the various episodes connected with her different manifestations.

The *stutis* which are very skilfully interspersed in this account contain, like the epic *Durgā-stotras* and *Āryā-stava* noted above, references to her Vedic strand, to her peaceful and terrific forms, her three aspects as the mother, the sister and the daughter, her saviour aspect, as well as her several other features; but these Paurāṇic laudations show that their author closed his eye on the non-Aryan strand of the composite goddess, for there is no explicit reference to this aspect of her. The *Nārāyaṇī-stuti*, the most extensive of these hymns, speaks of her Vaishṇavī-śakti sustaining the whole universe (cf. the *Bhagavadgītā* passage *prakṛitiṁ viddhi me parām* | *Jīvabhūtāṁ mahābāho yayedaṁ dhāryate jagat*), her Mātṛikā forms (the number of the mothers in this context is 9 in place of the usual 7) and her Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Nārāyaṇī, Kātyāyanī, Durgā, Bhadrakālī, Ambikā and other manifestations. In the last 14 couplets of this section of the Devī-māhātmya (Ch. XI, 41-54), the Devī recites her various future manifestations in different ages for the purpose of destroying the evil-doers, and for sustaining the world; these occasional assumptions of different forms by her are Yogamāyā (the daughter of Nanda and Yaśodā), Raktadantikā, Śatākshī, Śākambharī, Duryā, Bhīmā and Bhrāmarī in different ages and different regions. In the last verse of this canto she concludes her statement, assuring the gods just in the *Bhagavadgītā* vein, that 'whensoever (the world) will face such troubles through the appearance of the demons (evil and wicked persons), I shall incarnate myself and destroy the enemies' (*Itthaṁ yadā yadā bādhā dānavotthā bhavishyati* | *Tadā tadāvatīryāhaṁ karishyāmyarisaṁkshayam*).

THE ŚAKTI-PĪṬHA CONCEPT

Reference has just been made to the manifestation of the Devī as Bhīmā. This form was assumed by her in the Himālaya mountain for the protection of the Munis by destroying their Rākshasa enemies. We know from other sources, the epic and foreign literature, that she manifested herself as such in the heart of Gandhāra (modern Peshawar District) on the western side of the Indus. The *Mahābhārata* states that the Bhīmā-sthāna was beyond the Panjab and there was a *Yoni-hrada* in its vicinity where the pious devotees of the Devī used to bathe before paying homage to the goddess (III. 82, 84 ff.). The Great Epic also enumerates in this context three Śākta-pīṭha shrines over the organ and two breasts of the Devī. The mythology of Vishṇu's dismembering the dead body of Satī, which Śiva was carrying on his shoulder in great grief after her death (this is a part of the Dakshayajña episode already noted in a previous lecture), is intimately associated with this aspect of Śakti worship. The reference by Hiuen Thsang to the same sanctuary contains more detailed information which is worth-noting in this connection. He mentions a fairly high peak known as Bhīmādevī-parvata in the centre of Gandhāra 'which possesses a likeness or image of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmādevī of dark blue stone. According to local accounts, this was a natural image of the goddess; it was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India. At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvara-deva in which the ash-besmearing Tīrthikas performed much worship'.[10] A few things deserve special notice here: the description of the object of worship as her natural likeness, the wide-spread sanctity of the shrine, the presence of a Śiva temple at the foot of the hill, where the Pāśupatas congregated and worshipped. Most of these fit very well with the mythology about the falling of the dismembered limbs of Satī, the first wife of Śiva, in various places of India, which came to be known as so many Śakti-pīṭhas. The deep love of Śiva for his wife made him to keep guard over her multiple remains in all these places, i.e., shrines of Śiva were built not far from those of Śakti. The Chinese pilgrim's description of the image as her natural likeness most probably contains an allusion to the aniconic form of the object of worship, representing the various limbs. All these very well establish that the Pīṭhapūjā concept was much in vogue in the middle of the seventh century, it being difficult to determine when it first came into existence.[11] Another additional and useful information we get from this passage is that, in this Śākta-pīṭha, the shrine of the Bhairava guard (Śiva) was the haunt of the Pāśupatas. D. C. Sircar while editing a manuscript named *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahā-*

pīṭhanirūpaṇa in the collection of the Asiatic Society has collected much useful and valuable information about this aspect of Śakti worship. He has shown that, though the general tradition about the number of the Śakti-pīṭhas in modern Bengal is fifty-one, there are different numbers given in different Purāṇas, and sometimes their individual names also differ.[12]

OTHER ASPECTS OF DEVĪ WORSHIP

The mother aspect of the Devī can be traced back probably to proto-historic times as has been shown earlier. In the historic period the number of the divine mothers is generally accepted as seven (Sapta-mātṛikā), their names being usually associated with some major and minor gods of the Brāhmaṇical Hindu pantheon. They are Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍī. In the Devī-māhātmya account of the fight of the Devī with the Asuras; the number of the Mātṛikās is given as 9, by the addition of two names Śivadūtī and Nārasiṁhī. But other lists are also given in comparatively late texts, their number varying, sometimes even rising to 16 with Gaurī in the beginning (*Gauryādi-shoḍaśa-mātṛikā*). The worship of the divine mothers was also very intimately associated with the Tāntric form of Śakti worship wherein primarily fear played the most prominent part. Varāhamihira refers to the worship of the Mātṛigaṇa in general without specifying their number and names; but his description of their exclusive worshippers as *Maṇḍalakramavidaḥ* has got a special significance to be commented on later. Varāhamihira also refers to Ekānaṁśā, the sister of Baladeva and Kṛishṇa, whose figure may be eight-, four- and two-armed and should be placed between the images of the two brothers. The epic and Paurāṇic *stutis* also emphasise this aspect, as well as the daughter aspect of the Devī which latter was also noted by a Greek sailor as early as the second half of the first century A.D. Another important aspect of the Devī is her concept as the personification of the vegetation spirit, which is emphasised by her name Śākambharī already noted. This finds a clear corroboration in the present day Navapatrikā-praveśa ceremony in the autumnal worship of Durgā in Bengal, which is based on much earlier authority. R. P. Chanda rightly observes, 'This worship of Navapatrikā is but a survival of the agrarian phase of Durgā-worship'.[13] The nine plants are regarded as the nine forms of Durgā who dwells in every one them.

The aspects of the Devī noted above are mostly of the pacific order, two of the Mātṛikās, Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā, however, specifying to some extent her terrific and Tantric form. Mythologically her most important aspect is that of Mahishāsuramardinī, the mythology about which forms the main topic of the Devī-māhātmya. It is fierce in this sense that here she appears as a great fighter and destroyer of the demons ; but she is really compassionate at heart. This is thus beautifully expressed in verse 21 of the *Śakrādi-stuti* of the Devī-māhātmya—'To what may this prowess be compared ? And wherein is thy form most charming, which strikes fear amongst foes ? Compassion in mind and relentlessness in battle are seen in thee, O goddess, who bestowest boons even on the three worlds'.[14] This form of the goddess has been specially popular in the Devī-pūjā from the early Gupta period onwards, and one of its earliest representations is found on the facade of the Varāha cave at Udayagiri (near Bhilsa, Madhya Pradesh) noted in my second lecture on Vaishṇavism. The cave relief can be definitely dated in the first or second year of the 5th century A.D., and it is interesting to note that the goddess, already endowed with twelve hands (two of which stretch an iguana), is shown piercing the body of the buffalo demon with a spear, her feet being firmly planted on his neck. This fittingly illustrates the Devī-māhātmya description of the fighting goddess—*Evamuktvā samutpatya sārūḍhā taṁ mahāsuram | Pādenākramya kaṇṭhe cha śūlenainamatāḍayat* (iii, 37). The iguana is also to be found sometimes associated with much earlier tiny figures of the mother goddesses and with much later figures of Pārvatī (*DHI*^{2}, p. 192). The mode of illustrating this theme became so common in medieval India, especially Eastern India, that numerous images of this aspect of the goddess with far more elaboration have come down to us. The medieval image of Nava-Durgā from Porshā (Dinajpur District, North

Bengal), an extremely rare type of icon, shows nine figures of Mahishāsuramardinī, one comparatively big 18-armed main figure in the centre with eight other 16-armed miniature replicas grouped round it. The whole composition corresponds fairly well to the description of the goddess Nava-Durgā given in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa;* the central figure of the composite relief stands for Ugrachaṇḍā, the eight others representing Rudrachaṇḍā, Prachaṇḍā, Chaṇḍogrā, Chaṇḍanāyikā, Chaṇḍā, Chaṇḍavatī, Chaṇḍarūpā and Atichaṇḍikā.[15]

TĀNTRISM AND ŚAKTI WORSHIP

That Tāntrism in its general sense of systematised ritualism of a particular character, much different from the Vedic one, was applicable to the other major cults like Vaishṇavism and Śaivism has already been mentioned. But in its application to Śakti worship it had some special significance. There is no doubt that, in the early phase of the cult in its Tāntric form, the element of fear played the most prominent part. In fact the word *tāntra* is first met with in a somewhat fregmentary inscription dated in the Mālava year 480 (423-24 A.D.) found at Gangdhar in Malwa. The inscription records among other things that one Mayūrākshaka, a minister of Viśvavarman, the father of Kumāragupta I's feudatory Bandhuvarman, 'caused to be built for the sake of his religious merit this very terrible abode,..........filled full of female ghouls, of the Divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the (very) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion'. The extract is Fleet's translation of the passage which deserves special notice, for in the English rendering a few important points are missed. The original is—*Mātṛīṇāñcha pramuditaghanātyartha-nihrādinīnāṁ tāntrodbhūtaprabala-pavanodvarttit-āmbhonidhīnām* .... (portion broken) *gatamidaṁ ḍākinī-samprakīrṇaṁ veśmātyugraṁ nṛipatisachivo'kārayat puṇyahetoḥ.*[16] The words *tāntra* and *ḍākinī* have been rendered into English as 'magic rites of religion' and 'female ghouls'; but they should have been left untranslated. The word *veśmātyugra* also deserves comment in this context, for the temple of the Mātṛikās could not be terrific by itself. It was the terrible nature of the rites, indulged in by the votaries of the Divine Mothers in and near it in course of their peculiar form of worship, that gave the name to it, an early example of attributing the quality of the things to the container itself. We do not know the details about the grim rites which were of Tāntric character (the very word *tāntra* being used in this context), in which the Ḍākinīs had some notable part to play.

ḌĀKINĪS AND YOGINĪS

Who are the Ḍākinīs? In much later Tāntric texts the names of Ḍākinīs, Lākinīs and Śākinīs are mentioned. In this list, the first and the last are comparatively ancient. We shall presently say something about the Yoginīs. The later lexicons explain the name Ḍākinī as a special kind of the attendants of Kālī (*Ḍākinī Kālīgaṇaviśeshaḥ*). But Kālī made her debut as a fierce goddess in Tāntric Śakti worship at a comparatively late age. This word, however, occurs in an inscription of the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. P. C. Bagchi suggested that these subordinate deities might have been imported from Western Tibet and incorporated in Tāntric ritualism. This view was partly endorsed by S. B. Das Gupta who traced its root in the word *ḍāka* used in Tibet in the sense of 'a wise man', the particular term being its feminine form.[17] But the suggestions are unacceptable on account of this early epigraphic evidence. The inscription particularly emphasises the shouting propensity of the Mothers and their attendants, and the word *ḍāka* and *ḍākinī* may be of purely Indian origin. The suggestion may be supported by the interesting word *ghoshiṇī* (*ghosha* and *ḍāka* mean the same thing) occurring in the *Atharvaveda* to denote the female attendants of the terrific god Rudra.[18] The word Yoginī, so far as I know, does not occur in any early Gupta inscriptions; but the negative evidence does not militate against their fairly early existence as objects of worship in the Tāntric Śākta ritualism from the early medieval period onwards. Their number is stated, in the late Purāṇas like the *Agni* and others and some Śākta texts, as 64 (Chatuḥshashṭi-Yoginī). The *Agni Purāṇa* in its 146th Chapter (1st Part) fixes the number of Divine Mothers as eight, each of whose name is preceded by the name of the terrific goddess Chāmuṇḍā—Chāmuṇḍā-Brahmāṇī, Chāmuṇḍā-Māheśvarī, etc., the last two being Chāmuṇḍā-Chaṇḍī and Chāmuṇḍā-Īśānī; the second part of the chapter gives the names of the Ashṭāshṭaka goddesses (8×8=64) who belong to the line of Chāmuṇḍā and are worshipped in *maṇḍalas* (v. 20—*Chamuṇḍākulasambhūtā maṇḍale pūjitā jaye*). That these Ashṭāshṭaka goddesses were worshipped in *maṇḍalas* is fully proved not only by the evidence of this comparatively late Purāṇa, but by a few extant group shrines (usually circular, rarely rectangular) belonging to the medieval period. Mention may be made here of the Bherāghāṭ (near Jabalpur), Khajurāho, Hīrāpur (near Bhubaneswar, Orissa) and Rāṇipur Jhariāl (near Sambalpur, Orissa) temple complexes of the 64 Yoginīs. They mostly belong to the early medieval period, and, with the exception of the Khajurāho complex, are round in from. This particular arrangement of the shrines helps us to understand the significance of the expression *Maṇḍalakramavidaḥ* used by Varāhamihira to denote the devotees of the Divine Mothers. It will be impossible for me to go into further details about these structures in the short time at my disposal, for they require a separate study.

DEVĪ WORSHIP IN ORISSA

Orissa is full of medieval Tāntric remains emphasising the great prevalence of this form of Śakti worship in the country. D. M. Bhattacharya's striking discovery of the fact that the Paippalāda Śākhā of the *Atharvaveda* is still being ceremonially studied by a fairly large number of Oriya Brāhmaṇas who aver that it was being studied in their country from time immemorial explains why Tāntrism was so much prevalent there. It is a fact that the Tāntric Śāktas set a great store on the fourth Veda, and a good part of their ritualism might have been based on it. Group or separate representations of the 7 (rarely 8) Divine Mothers have been found in different parts of Orissa, of which Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍā stand for the terrific, weird and uncanny aspect of the goddess. The area surrounding Jajpur is known as Virajā-kshetra, and the town itself contains a Devī shrine, and separate Mātṛikā images are found there in the temple precincts. There are images of the Sapta-Mātṛikā flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa on either side on the bank of the Mārkaṇḍeya tank at Puri; they are still being worshipped. A particular variety of temple architecture described by the Oriyā *śilpīs* as Khākharā was adopted by them to build shrines of the different aspects of the goddesses. The Vaitāl Deul and the Gaurī temples of Bhubaneswar, the Vārāhī temple of Chaurasī (a village near Kākaṭpur in the Puri District), and the Gāṅgeśvarī temple at Beyālisbāṭi near Gop (Puri District) belong to this type. The first and the third require special notice in this context. Inside the main sanctum on the back and the two side walls of the first are as many as 15 images including those of the two guards of the Mothers, and the highly emaciated and terrific figure of Chāmuṇḍā seated on a corpse (*pretāsanā*) appearing as the central deity, a weird and skinny figure of a two-armed Bhairava (a *sādhaka*?) with *Ūrdhva-liṅga* feature and wearing a skull garland having a severed head in front and a jackal devouring a dead body, and a few other figures. These features of the Vaitāl Deul characterise in a way the grim nature of the shrine and naturally remind us of the *veśmātyugra* of the Gangdhar stone inscription.

THE VĀRĀHĪ TEMPLE AT CHAURASI

The Vaitāl temple belongs to about the 8th century A.D. or a little earlier, while the Chaurasi Vārāhī shrine is about two centuries later. Inside the front covered projection (*mukha-maṇḍapa* or *jagamohana*) of the main shrine are two loose images of the pot-bellied sow-faced Vārāhī, one two-armed and the other four-armed, the first holding a fish and *kapāla* in her hands. These two might have been brought from some nearby smaller shrines of the same Mātṛikā after they were destroyed. The very big image (6′ 1″×2′ 9″) of the two-armed Vārāhī enshrined in the main sanctum holds in her right hand a *matsya* and in her left hand a *kapāla* (thus emphasising two of the *pañcha-makāras, matsya* and *madya,* the *kapāla* being used as a cup for drinking wine) and is seated on the back of a crouching buffalo. But some of the reliefs carved round the outer sides of the *vimāna* are very interesting from our point of view. They are possibly some of the earliest illustrations of the erotic sensual element associated in a comparatively late period with the Tāntric Śākta ritualism. The eight reliefs carved on the top sections of the *pagas* (outer ribs of the walls) appear to illustrate in a way the *ashṭa kāmakalāprayoga* (the practice of eight types of the art of love) as described in the fourth *paṭala* of an unedited Tāntric text, *Kaulachūḍāmaṇi* by name, written in the Oriya script but in the Sanskrit language. The eight modes of the art of love are named (1) *vaśīkaraṇa,* (2) *sammoha,* (3) *ākarshaṇa,* (4) *yonyābhisheka,* (5) *puraścharaṇa,* (6) *rajaḥpāna,* (7) *prastāva* and (8) *nivṛiti.* It is very strange that the early 9th-10th century reliefs on the walls of the *vimāna* of the Vārāhī temple of Chaurasi correspond in a remarkable manner to the textual description of the eight modes. I know of no other such comparatively early shrine of Vārāhī or any other Mātṛikā where such erotic reliefs are found. In the old Kanika State of Orissa, there are some medieval Vārāhī shrines, and as many as five types of the images of the Tāntric goddess are worshipped there. The *Vārāhī Tantra* (Sans. text in the Oriya script) names them as Svapna-, Chaṇḍa-, Mahā-, Kṛichchhra- and Matsya-Vārāhī, and describes each of them. The description of the last variety corresponds to a great extent to the main image of the Chaurasi Vārāhī temple.[10] It seems that the cult of Vārāhī flourished as an adjunct of the Tāntric form of Śakti worship in medieval India, especially in its eastern and central parts, for I know of many reliefs of the goddess, some in the Museum collections and others in *situ.*

EROTICISM AND SENSUAL LOVE IN TĀNTRIC ŚAKTI-PŪJĀ

The erotic and sensual element in Tāntric Śakti *pūjā* will not be discussed in this lecture which deals mainly with some essential features of the early phase of the cult, especially from its developmental point of view. It cannot be definitely determined when it first made its appearance as one of the most essential elements of the cult; but it cannot be gainsaid that this is given undue importance in comparatively late texts. The temple-reliefs in Orissa, Khajuraho and other places, which are grossly sensual in character and which might have had some distant association with this form of Śakti worship are mostly comparatively late. The practice might have been present in an incipient form in earlier times; but it was certainly not given so much prominence as much later archaeological and literary data appear to establish. James Needham has suggested some connection between the erotic-sensual element in Chinese ritualism with that of the medieval Tāntric religion of India. The latter appears to have been influenced to a great extent by the former. This conclusion is supported by the tradition recorded in some late East Indian texts which lay down that a particular form of Tārā worship (the ritualism of Mahāchīna-Tārā) was introduced into India by Vasishṭha from Mahāchīna. The story goes that the sage went there and saw Buddha drinking wine in the company of women. On his surprise at this, Buddha explained to him the real nature of this ritualism, and Vasishṭha introduced it in this country. H. P. Shastri long ago suggested that there was a particular branch of Tāntric Śakti-pūjā of the Paśchimaśāsana bearing *Kubjikāmata* and other names with a vast bulk of literature associated with them, which might have been brought into this country from outside; he cited a verse from one of the manuscripts connected with this branch in support of his view.[20] All these points and various others connected with Śākta theology in its early form and later developments will be discussed by me separately in a work dealing with the later phases of the major Paurāṇic and Tāntric religions.

II—SUN WORSHIP

INTRODUCTION

The Indians like most other ancient nations of the world worshipped the sun-god in a general way from a very early period. The Indus Valley dwellers of the proto-historic times might also have done so, though we have no definite means of knowing this from the remains they left us. Sūrya with some of his various aspects came to play a great part in the religious life of the Ṛigvedic people, and the solar divinities continued to claim deep respect from the Indians of the later Vedic age. The epic literature also contains many references to their worship, and other old texts, both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist, testify to the veneration of the sun-god by the people in general. In the course of time a cult centering round the deity might have developed in indigenous lines with no foreign element influencing it. But some of the Purāṇas like the *Bhavishya, Sāmba, Varāha, Agni,* etc., and several other texts show that the East Iranian form of sun worship, introduced into India about the beginning of the Christian era, came to reorientate the cult in Northern India to a very great extent. This fact has been further corroborated by a large mass of archaeological data. The story of the development of the cult in its two-fold form is a fascinating one and deserves to be told with care.

EARLY VEDIC REFERENCES TO THE SUN

The hymns of the *Ṛigveda* are full of references to Sūrya and his various aspects, and testify to the great veneration in which they were held. The god was given many names such as Savitā, Pūshā, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Mitra, Aryamā and Vishṇu, emphasising his different aspects. Sūrya 'the most concrete of the solar deities was directly connected with the visible luminous orb', and a number of qualities and functions were assigned to him. Savitā, 'the stimulator of everything' (*sarvasya prasavitā—Nirukta,* X. 31), denoted his abstrct qualities. Pūshā specified 'the benevolent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity'. Bhaga, according to Yāska, presides over the forenoon, his association with Sūrya being a little indefinite. The name is the Indian form of the Indo-European word *bogu* meaning 'god' its Iranian counterpart being *bagha* used as one of the attributes of Ahura Mazda. The word *bhagavat* in Sanskrit was derived from it. Vivasvān appears to have originally represented the rising sun ; but like the Avestan Vivaṅhant, the first mortal that prepared *haoma* (Vedic *soma*), he came to be regarded as the first sacrificer, the ancestor of the human race. Mitra's connection with Sūrya is a little obscure in the *Ṛigveda*, he being mainly associated there with another Indo-Iranian god Varuṇa. His later Iranian aspect in a modified form exercised its great influence on North Indian sun worship. Aryamā, also an Indo-Iranian deity, is so much devoid of individual traits as to be left out of the list of gods in the *Naighaṇṭuka*. Vishṇu is the most interesting of the different solar divinities. It has been shown in Lecture II, how, from the position of a solar deity mainly celebrated for his march across the sky in three great strides, he became one of the principal constituents of the composite cult-god of the Bhāgavata or Vaishṇava religion.

THE ĀDITYAS AND NAVAGRAHAS

Most of the deities mentioned above along with a few others like Aṁśa, Daksha, Mārtāṇḍa, etc., came to constitute in different groupings and contexts, a special class of gods collectively known as the Ādityas, 'sons of Aditi', though Aditi was also regarded as the mother of all the other Vedic divinities. The number of the Ādityas was indefinite in early Vedic texts, it being subsequenty raised to twelve (*Dvādaśāditya*). Six Ādityas are mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (II. 27) ; they are Mitra, Arayamā, Bhaga, Varuṇa Daksha and Aṁśa. In one context, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* fixes the number at eight by adding the name of Mārtāṇḍa to seven of the list noted above, while in two other contexts (IV. 1.2, 8; XI. 6.3, 8) it raises the number to twelve, they being identified with the 12 months. The epics, Purāṇas and other later texts accept the number and usually name them as (1) Dhātā, (2) Mitra, (3) Aryamā, (4) Rudra, (5) Varuṇa,

(6) Sūrya, (7) Bhaga, (8) Vivasvān, (9) Pūshā, (10) Savitā, (11) Tvashṭā and (12) Vishṇu. Many of the solar deities of the Vedic period are found here. Two of the list, Dhātā and Rudra, are the Vedic prototypes of the Purāṇic Brahmā and Śiva, the two along with Vishṇu constituting the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad.

Some observations may be made here regarding the place of the so-called Nava-graha in Brāhmaṇical ritualism before further development of sun worship through the ages is considered. The names of these group gods are—Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. It should be seen that, barring the first two and last two of the names, the rest are all 'planets', and their worship partly along with that of the Ādityas came to occupy a very important position in the Paurāṇic religions. The Navagrahas were worshipped by all to avert danger arising out of the anger of these 'gods', and the particular ceremony was known by the name of *grahayāga* or *svastyayana*. But the word *graha* does not occur in this sense in the Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa texts, nor do we find a clear mention of it with this definite connotation in the Āraṇyaka, Upanishad and even epic literature. The *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* make rare mention of five *grahas*, but do not name them. It is only in some Smṛiti texts, specially in the Purāṇas that rules are laid down for the performance of the *grahayāga*. The *Matsya, Agni* and a few oher Purāṇas as well as the *Yājñvalkyasmṛiti* refer to such rules elaborately and give the names of the nine in correct order. Their worship was thus comparatively late in appearance, and it appears to have received some impetus from outside. The reliefs of the Navagraha were almost invariably carved on the architrave of the main sanctum of the medieval shrines of different cult deities (especially in Orissa), probably to serve as a prophylactic measure. Another interesting fact to be noted in connection with *graha*-worship in Orissa is that the number of the *grahas* on the temple-reliefs of the Bhauma-Kara period is eight (Ketu being absent), while those in the later shrines of the Gaṅga age always come up to nine including Ketu. In a fragmentary relief of the late Gupta period in the collection of the Sarnath Musem also Ketu does not appear (*DHI*², p. 144, Pl. XXXI, fig. 1).

SOME SAṂHITĀ HYMNS AND LATER MYTHOLOGY

Some Saṁhitā hymns describe many traits of the god which came in course of time to be utilised by the epic and Purāṇic writers in their elaboration of various mythologies connected with Sūrya. In some hymns the god is described as a celestial bird called 'Garutmān with beautiful wings (*divyaḥ suparṇo Garutmān*). There is no doubt that this was the source of the later mythology about Garuḍa. In a Ṛigvedic verse (VII. 77, 3), the sun appears as a white and beautiful horse brought by Ushā. But he is more often described as riding a car 'sometimes drawn by one, and at other times by several, 4 or 7, swift and ruddy horses or mares'. Some of the epithets or synonyms of Sūrya in the classical Sanskrit literature contain evident allusion to this Vedic imagery. The Vedic story (*R. V.*, I, 164) about the marriage of Śaraṇyu, the daughter of Tvashṭā, with Vivasvān was undoubtedly the basis of the elaborate Purāṇic mythology about Sūrya marrying Saṁjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā, her flight due to her inability to bear her husband's excessive effulgence and Viśvakarmā's attempt to reduce it. It may be said in this connection, that the Purāṇic myth-makers utilised it in their own way for explaining some of the alien features of the North-Indian sun image. A hymn in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* (X. 72, 8) narrates how Aditi took with her to heaven her seven sons (the Ādityas) leaving her eighth son Mārtāṇḍa (another Āditya) on earth. There is no doubt that this Ṛigvedic myth was the nucleus of the epic and Purāṇic story about Gaṅgā drowning her seven sons by her human husband, the Kaurava king Śāntanu, and thus sending them to heavens but leaving her eighth son Bhīshma here.

THE SUN-GOD IN LATER VEDIC AND EPIC TEXTS

The Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Sūtras allude to the worship of Sūrya and his many aspects. The Ṛishi Kaushītaki, who adored the sun in the morning, at noon and in the evening to expiate his sins, has also laid down the three *mantras* with which the rising sun, the sun on the meridian and the setting sun are to be worshipped.[21] The Gāyatrī-mantra of a Brāhmaṇa, also known as Sāvitrī, is made up of the Ṛigvedic verse, III. 62, 10—*Tat saviturvareṇyaṁ bhargo devasya dhīmahi | dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt* in the Vedic metre *gāyatrī*, with the addition of the *praṇava* (*Oṁ*) and three *vyāhṛitis* (*bhū*, *bhūva* and *svar*) in the beginning.[22] In the Āraṇyakas, Upanishads and Gṛihyasūtras, Sūrya is identified with Brahman (*asāvādityo Brahma*). The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* lays down the Āditya-gāyatrī as *Bhāskarāya vidmahe madādyutikarāya dhīmahi | tanna Ādityaḥ prachodayāt* (X. 1), it being a little different from the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā* Sūrya-gāyatrī which reads—*Bhāskarāya vidmahe prabhākarāya dhīmahi | tanno bhānuḥ prachodayāt*. The eight-syllable Tāntric Sūrya-mantra, *Oṁ ghṛiṇi Sūrya Ādityaḥ*, of much later date is nothing but one of the Āditya-mantras of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* with the simple addition of the *praṇava* prefix. The two epics also contain a lot of references to sun worship. Mention has already been made of Rāma's worship of the sun by ceremonially reciting the Ādityahṛidaya-stava under the advice of Agastya before he could kill Rāvaṇa, as narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V. 106). The *Mahābhārata* also contains such a *stotra* of 108 names of Āditya, which the sage Dhaumya advised Yudhishṭhira to recite in the Kāmyakavana (III. 3, 3). Both these laudatory poems give one a clear idea about the great importance and the all-pervading character of Sūrya.

SOME LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

The poem of 100 verses (*Sūryaśataka*) composed by Mayūra (probably the father-in-law of Bāṇabhaṭṭa) in honour of Sūrya for his recovery from leprosy also proves the high esteem and veneration in which the god was held in the early post-Gupta period. These beautiful verses are based mainly on Vedic and epic accounts of the god, and they also prove that the deity was regarded as a healer of diseases. The Sūtradhāra in the *Mālatīmādhava* prays to Sūrya in a general way, and the

Mārkāṇḍeya Purāṇa contains prayers to the god, and several mythologies connected with him (one of which is based on the Vivasvān-Saraṇyu story noted earlier) in cantos 107-10. The place given to Sūrya is higher than that of the Brāhmaṇical triad. The Smṛiti text quoted in Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijayakāvya* also identifies the sun with the triad in the verse—

Namaḥ Savitre jagadekachakshushe
jagatprasūtisthitināśahetave |
Trayīmayāya triguṇātmadhāriṇe
Viriñchi-Nārāyaṇa-Śaṅkrātmane ||

"Salutation to Savitā who is the one eye of the universe, is the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the world, who is the receptacle if the three guṇas (*sattva, raja* and *tama*), and who is one with the three—Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva." Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harsacharita* describes Harshavardhana's father Prabhākaravardhana as 'a devotee of Āditya by nature' (*nisargata eva cha sa nṛipatirādityabhakto babhūva*), and how the king ceremonially paid his homage to the god, and recited every day early in the morning, at noon and in the evening the Ādityahṛidaya-mantra. The eleventh century dramatist, Kṛishṇamiśra, presents the Vaishṇavas, Śaivas and Sauras under the command of the goddess Sarasvatī as engaged in battle with the Bauddhas, Jainas and the materialist Chārvākas under the general command of Mahāmoha.

A few archaeological data may be cited here in support of the continued existence of indigenous sun worship in India. During the rule of *Mahārāja* Śarvanāga, a feudatory of Skandagupta, over Antarvedī, a Brāhmāṇa named Devavishṇu donated some money to the Sun temple at Indrapura (modern village of Indore in the Bulandshahr District, U.P.). The Gwalior stone inscription of the time of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula tells us that one Mātṛicheṭa caused a sun temple to be built at Gopādri (Gwalior). These solar shrines were possibly associated with the indigenous form of the cult. Other north Indian sun establishments to be noted later appear to have been connected with its reorientated form. The Sonepat copper-seal inscription of Harshavardhana attributes the title *Paramādityabhakta* to

Prabhākaravardhana, his father Ādityavardhana and grandfather Rājyavardhana indicating that they were Sauras. The Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vināyakapāla is described as *Paramādityabhakta* and his great-grandfather Rāmabhadra also is given the title (*I.A.*, Vol. XV, p. 141). It appears that, in the 7 generations of the kings of this dynasty, two at least were Sauras, his brother and predecessor as also the first in the line being *Parama-Vaishṇava,* three other predecessors being Śākta (*Paramabhagavatībhakta*) and two Śaiva (*Parama-Māheśvara*).

THE INDIGENOUS SCHOOL OF SAURAS

The data noted above fully support R. G. Bhandarkar's contention that 'a school came into existence in India for the exclusive worship of the sun' (*op. cit.*, p. 152), and it appears to have developed on indigenous lines. The account of such a school of Sauras with its six subdivisions is given by Ānandagiri in the 13th *prakaraṇa* of his *Śaṅkaravijaya-kāvya.* We are told here that the devotees of the sun-god with Divākara as the leader carrying red flowers in their hands met the great monist teacher and recounted before him the excellence of the object of their worship. They quoted such Vedic passages as *Śurya ātmā jagatastasthūshaśca* (Sūrya is the soul of movable and immovable things', *R.V.*, I. 115, 1), *asāvāditya Brahma* ('That Āditya is Brahma'), etc., and propounded that it was Sūrya who was the cause of the world and the supreme soul. Their six subdivisions are thus summarily described by Ānandagiri. The first group worshipped the rising sun as Brahmā, the sole creator of the universe; the second adored the noonday sun as Rudra-Śiva, the destroyer of the world; the third venerated the setting sun as Vishṇu as the creator, preserver and destroyer; the fourth combined all these aspects of the god and gave him their homage; the fifth meditated on the golden-coloured presiding deity of the solar orb; and the last performed the Saura-vrata consisting of fervently looking at the sun disc, ceremonial worship offered to the deity, dedicating all their works to the god, and breaking their fast after seeing the sun, etc. All of them had the mark of the solar orb branded on their fore-head, arms and chest with the help of a red hot iron style, and always concentrated their minds on the sun.[23]

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE SUN CULT

Literary and archaelogical data, however, are not wanting to show that a peculiar type of worship was introduced into North India from outside, which helped to remodel the cult in the northern parts of the country. It seems that various foreign tribes like the Śakas, Pahlavas and others, specially the Śakas who began entering into India even from before the beginning of the Christain era were responsible for bringing with them the Śakadvīpī form of the worship of Mithra. Śakadvīpa was the Indian name of eastern or south-eastern Iran where the Śakas were infiltrating and settling from centuries before they entered into this country, and they imbibed the Iranian culture to a great extent. It was they who took the most important part in this matter, though the Purāṇas narrate the story of the introduction in their own way. The account given in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* (Ch. 139) is the most representative one, and should be briefly noted here. Sāmba, the son of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa through Jāmbavatī, was cursed by his father to be attacked with leprosy for some alleged offence of his. When he prayed to Kṛishṇa to cure him of this fell disease, he was advised to worship the sun to get cured. A temple of the god was erected by him at Mūlasthānapura (modern Multan) ; but no local Brāhmaṇa would or could serve there. On the advice of Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena, he then brought the Magas, the special worshippers of the sun, from Śakadvīpa, and entrusted them with the task of officiating as priests in the temple. As a result of this he got cured. The Purāṇa gives us an imaginary account of the origin of the Magas. A son named Jaraśabda or Jaraśasta (no doubt the Indian adaptation of Zoroaster) was born to Nikshubhā, the dtughter of Sujihva, a Śakadvīpī Brāhmaṇa of the Mihira *gotra,* through the sun-god. This Jaraśabda-Jaraśasta was the ancestor of the Magas who worshipped the sun-god, their original progenitor. They used to wear the sacred girdle named *avyaṅga* on their waist. A careful analysis of this story enables us to cull some historical truth from it. The worship of the sun as Mithra was prevalent in Iran from a very early time. Herodotus refers to a belief among the Persians that if sin is committed by one against the god, he is attacked with leprosy, and can be cured of it only after his proper propitiation. Mention has just been made of such a belief in India in connection with Mayūra, the author of the poem *Sūryaśataka*. The name Maga is the Indian adaption of the Magii, the fire- and sun-worshipping priests of Iran, and *avyaṅga* is nothing but the Indian form of *Aivyaoṅghen*, the sacred waist-girdle worn by them. In the description of the sun image given in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, it is expressly laid down that it should not only be shown wearing a northerner's dress (*udīchyaveśa*), but should also be wearing a *viyaṅga* (a variant of *avyaṅga*). It has also been shown earlier that, according to Varāhamihira, it was the Magas who were the proper persons to install the image of the sun.[24]

FOREIGN LITERARY DATA

Ptolemy says in his Geography (BK. VII, section 74) that there were Maga Brāhamaṇas (Brachmanoi Magoi) in India, and they lived in a town named Brachme. Though Lassen found in this statement of the geographer a reference either to a land of Iranian priests settled in India, or to a clan of Indian Brāhmaṇas initiated into the doctrine of the Magii, he thought that he was wrong in this case. Probably Lassen was of opinion that the Magas or their converts could not be present in India at such an early date; but this could not be impossible *a priori*. One of the earliest sun temples is said to have stood in the city of Takshaśilā at the time of Gondophares (1st half of the 1st century A.D.), and it was visited by Apollonius of Tyana. It was probably connected with this form of the cult, and the Magas were probably there. Long after, Hiuen Thsang gives a graphic description of the Multan sun temple in his *Si-yu-ki*. 'Of the many temples of Multan, the large and beautiful sun temple was worthy of note; the golden image of the god was studded with precious stones, it was miracle-working, and its fame spread far and wide. The Danseuse (Devadāsīs ? used to sing and dance inside the temple, it was illumined throughout the night, and offerings of flowers, incense, etc., were made at all times. The Indian kings and potentates used to dedicate rich presents to the god, and caused to be built rest-houses and hospitals for pilgrims. Not less than 1000 pilgrims from different parts of the country used to congregate and pray there every day. The temple precincts were charming, for it was surrounded by big tanks and beautiful gardens".[25] This account of the Chinese traveller partially bears on the Puranic evidence about the Multan shrine. Hiuen Thsang also refers to a splendid sun temple at Kanauj (Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 352). The Arab georaphers like Abu Rihan (Alberuni), Abu Isak al Istakhri and Al Idrisi also write about it, and the image enshrined there. Alberuni writes that 'there is an image of the sun named Āditya at Multan, it is made of wood and covered with red skin ; two rubies are set on its eyes. The prosperity of the town was mainly due to it, for pilgrims from various parts of India used to come to see it and offer it untold wealth'. He further says that the Hindus of Multan used to celebrate a festivity named Sāmbapūryātrā before the object of worship every year. According to his evidence, the Magii settled in India during his time were known by the name of Maga.[26]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON MODIFICATION OF THE SUN CULT IN NORTH INDIA

Comparative frequency of a peculiar type of medieval Sūrya images in Northern India indicates the prevalence of the re-orientated form of the cult, especially in its eastern and western parts. Mathurā and its environs in the Śaka-Kushāṇa period appear to have been one of its centres, for many Sūrya images associated with it have been found there. Some medieval sun temples are still extant in more or less indifferent state of preservation in the extreme north, east and west (cf. the Mārtāṇḍ temple of Kashmir, Koṇārak sun temple in Orissa and Moḍherā sun temple in Gujarat). Inscriptions from the early medieval or even Gupta period onwards record the erection and maintenance of solar shrines mostly associated with this particular type of sun worship. The Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I records the erection of a magnificent sun temple in 436-37 A.D., by a band of silk weavers, immigrants from the Lāṭa-vishaya (Central and Southern Gujarat into the city of Daśapura (modern Dasor or Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh). They also restored it 36 years later when part of it had fallen into disrepair. What is of special interest here is that some members of the guild were very much adept in the science of astrology, which may indicate their connection with this form of the cult. The Daivajña-āchāryas, experts in astronomy and astrology, were regarded as descendants of the Magas. A class of Brāhmaṇas named Bhojakas are mentioned in the Deo-Baranark (Shahabad District, Bihar) pillar inscription of Jīvitagupta II of the line of the Later Guptas. It records some grant of the king for the worship of the Sūrya image known by the name of Varuṇavāsī in the already existing temple of the locality. With this solar shrine were associated Sūryamitra, Haṁsamitra, Ṛishimitra and Durdharamitra who were all Bhojakas. The Bhojakas were supposed to have been the descendants of the Magas through the women of the Bhoja race. But Varāhamihira says that 'the Brāhmaṇa who knows very well the (astronomical and astrological) works and their meaning, is the first to eat the food offered to the manes, and purifies the row (of diners in the front rank of which he takes his seat), and is honoured himself.'[27] It is likely that the name Bhojaka was derived from from their function of eating first and being given first place in times of Śrāddha.

Burgess notes the discovery of many old sun temples datable from the Gupta period onwards from Multan to Kutch, and Sankalia mentions wide-spread prevalence of this form of the cult during the same period all over Gujarat on the basis of numerous inscriptions.[28] The Mārtāṇḍ temple in Kashmir was most probably built by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa in the middle of the 8th century A.D., who also built a temple of Āditya at Lāṭapur. The medieval sum temple at Koṇārak was built in the 13th century A.D. by Lāṅgulīya Narasiṁhadeva of the Gaṅga dynasty in the shape of a huge chariot on wheels in the Arkakshetra at Koṇārak.[29] The stone inscription of the Śaka year 1059 (1137-38 A.D.) found at Govindapur (Gaya District, Bihar) contains some interesting information relevant to the topic discussed here.[30] The epigraph records in its opening verses that the Magas who were descended from the sun-god were brought into India by Sāmba. It also describes the body of the god as 'written (i.e. pared) by lathe' (*bhramilikhitatanorbhāsvataḥ*) thus alluding to the mythology of Viśvakarmā's diminishing the effulgence of the god by putting him on his *śānayantra*. The composer of the inscription was the poet Gaṅgādhara who belonged to a line of Maga Brāhmaṇas settled in the region. Bharadvāja was the founder of the line, and it had many branches. Six famous poets sprang from the line, one of whom was Gaṅgādhara himself. The works of some of these poets are mentioned in later literature. From the evidence of the Deo-Baranark and Govindapur inscriptions it is evident that Magadha (South Bihar) was one of the favourite haunts of the descendants of the ancient Magas.

MEDIEVAL SUN ICONS OF NORTH INDIA

Mention has been briefly made of Varāhamihira's description of the sun image. The bearing of the words *udīchyaveśa* and *viyaṅga* (*avyaṅga*) used by him in this connection has been commented upon. These are clear pointers to the alien source from which the particular type of sun icon was derived. It was long ago pointed out by me, however, that the long coat and 'boots of the early north Indian sun images were not so much taken from the representation of the Iranian Mithra, but his Hellenistic modification of about the 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D.[31] The dress of the Sūrya relief in the Bhumara Śiva temple (c. 6th century A.D.), moreover, very strikingly resembles that of the Kushāṇa kings like Wema Kadphises and Kanishka shown on their coins and sculptures. The heavy coat and boots of the early Sūrya figures in imitation of those of the Kushāṇa kings are evidently described by Varāhamihira as *udīchyaveśaṁ gūḍhaṁ pādāduro yāvat* (northerner's dress covering the body from the legs to the chest). But these were not maintained for long, the covering of the upper half of the body was soon to disappear, the 'boots' were only to remain. The Purāṇic mythologists had been at pains to explain these alien features of the cult icon, and one glib but crude explanation they suggested is that these were nothing but the bright effulgence covering the body of the god. They also utilised the Vedic Vivasvān-Śaraṇyu mythology in their own way and based on it the story of the flight of Śaraṇyu (Saṁjñā) due to her inability to endure the effulgence of her husband leaving her shadow Chhāyā to keep him company, and her father Viśvakarmā's paring the upper part of the body of his son-in law (Sūrya) the legs being untouched, etc. There is no doubt that the above account was framed up at a time when this type of the sun image had been divested of a part of the alien covering, and evidently after the date of the Bhumara relief and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* description of Sūrya. The South Indian Sūrya figures were never covered and booted, and it seems that the Śakadvīpī form of sun worship hardly made any headway in the south. The sun-cult in general also did not flourish there much, and Gopinatha Rao thinks it 'curious to find a temple in the South Indian village of Sūryanārkoyil in the Tanjore District dedicated entirely to the worship of the sun-god and the planets'. The temple was constructed in the reign of Kulottuṅgacholadeva (A.D. 1070-1120), and was named Kulottuṅgachoḷa-Mārttaṇḍālaya.[32]

CONTINUANCE OF SUN WORSHIP

Sun-worship continued to flourish in Northern India till a comparatively late period. It was mostly due to the presence of a large number of the descendants of the early Maga immigrants as the Deo-Baranark and Govindapur records show. They were merged in course of time in the vast mass of the Indian people, partially maintaining their individual entity by forming a separate caste. This was the caste from which the Daivajñas, Grahavipras and Agradānīs (those who were given precedence in the presentation of food and gifts in times of Śrāddha ceremonies) were recruited. Some of them took to the profession of the preparation of horoscopes, while others officiated as priests especially for the performance of *graha-pūjā* to bring peace and prosperity to the householder. But it is also true that they gradually lost their position in the Indian society, if they ever at all enjoyed any high position there. The indigenous Sūrya-pūjā and its alien form perhaps got mixed up at a much later period, and its separate existence as a cult for the exclusive worship of the deity was probably obliterated. The veneration paid to the god by the Smārta Pañchopāsaka Hindus, however, did never disappear. But it is a fact that no distinct school or schools of philosophy did ever grow up around him, as they developed round the two major Paurāṇic systems.[32a]

III—MINOR CULTS

1. KĀRTTIKEYA WORSHIP

INTRODUCTION

Worship of Kārttikeya was known from a very early time, specially in some parts of Northern India. The worshippers of the god, however, did not presumably form a sect, for they were never given a separate status like the exclusive devotees of the five Paurāṇic deities, Vishṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya and Gaṇapati. Textual and archaeogical data are not wanting to prove that in centuries immediately preceding the Christian era and one or two succeeding it, he was worshipped under different names or aspects, such as Skanda, Viśākha, Kumāra, Mahāsena, Brahmaṇyadeva, etc. He was never included in the list of Vedic deities and belonged to the category of Laukika-devatās. The first clear mention of his worship is found in a text of the 2nd century B.C., for Patañjali refers to the images of Skanda and Viśākha along with those of Śiva, while commenting on Pāṇini's *sūtra—jīvikārthe chāpaṇye* (V. 3, 99). It seems that there was some difference between the two, for they are named separately by the grammarian ; probably they were two different aspects of the same god. The two epics are full of references to Skanda-Kārttikeya, and the mythologies connected with his origin account for it in various ways. He is generally regarded as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, while at other times as that of Agni and Gaṅgā. The Skandotpattiparvādhyāya of the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata,* however, contains earlier traditions about the origin of this god or a group of gods of like nature later amalgamated into one entity. This composite god was regarded as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī who brought him into being for leading the army of the gods in their fight with the mighty demon Tārakāsura. The mythology was already well-known in the Gupta period, for it served as the main theme of Kālidāsa's great poem, *Kumārasambhava.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Some gold coins of Huvishka contain two figures on their reverse with the names Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha (Vizago), while a few others of the same king bear three figures inside some sort of a shrine, described by the die-cutter as Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena; this supports the textual evidence about the different aspects or constituents of one composite god. A few coins again of the same king are known which bear as their reverse device the figure of a two-armed deity holding a sword and a standard topped by a peacock in its two hands, described as Mahāsena.[33] These numismatic data fully prove that the deity or his allied variants were worshipped by some people in the north, though they do not necessarily establish the existence of a sect of the god. A *Kumāra-sthāna* or shrine of the god Kumāra (Kārttikeya) is mentioned in the Abbottabad inscription of about the third century A.D., which has been recently published by D. C. Sircar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 59 ff). Two stone objects consisting of a red sandstone cock carved in the round and a broken pillar of the same material with carvings on it assignable to the 2nd century A.D., found sometime ago at Lala Bhagat (Kanpur District, U.P.) throw interesting light on the worship of the god in Northern India. The now detatched cock served undoubtedly as the capital of the column which was possibly erected in front of a shrine of the god. Among the pillar carvings noted above prominence is given to the figure of Sūrya riding a chariot drawn by four horses.[34] The suggestion of some scholars that Kārttikeya had some solar association is not only substantiated by it, but also by Skanda's description as an attendant of Sūrya in some iconographic texts. Some 1st century A.D. copper coins of Ayodhyā issued by the local Mitra kings, Devamitra and Vijayamitra, show a cock-crested column as their reverse device; it can be justifiably held that it was connected with the worship of the god. But the most interesting mumismatic evidence about his worship is supplied by the Yaudheya coins of about the 2nd-3rd century A.D., which contain his figure, sometimes one- and at other times six-headed (Shaḍānana), carrying a spear (*śakti*) and a cock or peacock in its two hands. The cock or peacock and spear were his two special attributes, for the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* clearly describes him thus—*Skandaḥ Kumārarūpaḥ śaktidharo barhiketuścha* (Ch. 57), 'Skanda is of the form of Kumāra (or 'of youthful form'), holds a spear, and has a cock or peacock as his cognisance'. The legend on some of the Yaudheya coins can be correctly read as *Bhagavato svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*, '(coin of) Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra, the worshipful lord, indicating that the coins were issued in the name of Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra (designation of Skanda-Kārttikeya) as the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the Yaudheya-gaṇarājya. The Yaudheyas were the *āyudhajīvī* Kshatriyas (i.e., 'Kshatriyas living by their weapons'), and it is but natural that they would dedicate their state to the divine war-lord. This interpretation is substantiated by a terracotta seal (c. 3rd-4th century A.D.) unearthed by Marshall at Bhiṭā, the inscription on which records another instance of the dedication of a state to Mahāsena. The marginal legend reads *Śrī-Vindhyavedhamahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisṛishṭarājyasya Vṛishadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya.* It has been translated by Marshall thus, 'of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the great lord Kārttikeya' (*DHI*², p. 142).

LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF PRE-GUPTA AND GUPTA PERIODS

The Yaudheyas appear to have been the exclusive worshippers of Mahāsena-Kārttikeya, though that does not necessarily mean that they formed a sect by themselves. In a *Mahābhārata* passage, Rohitaka, the city of the Yaudheyas here named *Mattamayūraka*, is called the favourite residence of Kārttikeya, where Arjuna had a great fight with them.[35] This place having been the favourite residence of the god means that he was the tutelary deity of the region. This is also proved by the evidence of a *Mahāmāyūrī* passage which means that 'Kumāra-Kārttikeya, was the world-famed (tutelary deity) of Rohitaka' (V. 21—*Rohitake Kārttikeyaḥ Kumāro lokaviśrutaḥ*). As regards the name Svāmī Brahmaṇyadeva or Svāmī Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra of the Yaudheya coin-legends noted above, reference may be made to the Bilsad stone pillar inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I (96 G.E.=415-16 A.D.). It records some additions by one Dhruvaśarman to the already existing temple of Brahmaṇyadeva Svāmī Mahāsena.[36] Kumāragupta I, though described in many of his coin legends as *Paramabhāgavata*, appears to have been also a worshipper of Kārttikeya, for on the reverse of some of his gold coins, a beautiful cult image of the god riding on his mount the peacock Paravāṇi was used as the device.

The earlier worship of Skanda-Kārttikeya does not appear to have continued its separate existence in the north of India sometime after the Gupta period. It got completely merged in the cult of Śiva, and mythology about his origin helped the merger. In the autumnal worship of Durgā, the clay image of the god along with those of Durgā and her other children are worshipped in Bengal. His clay image is also separately worshipped every year on the last day of the month of Kārttika (October-November) by some wishing progeny and by a few women of the town. But this also is gradually getting obsolete. He was worshipped in the medieval times in South India, and some shrines of the god, known as Subrahmaṇya, of the period are still extant there. He is also held in great veneration even now by many local people, this being mostly due to his connection with Śiva and Pārvatī. His aspect as the favourite child of the divine parents known by the name of Murugan in Tamil is the object of loving adoration to numerous people of the south, and the Tamil songs composed in honour of the child god are full of noble and beautiful sentiment.

2. GAṆAPATI AND THE GĀṆAPATYAS

INTRODUCTION

The worship of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) cannot be traced back to a very early date like that of Kārttikeya, mythologically his brother. If, however, the suggestion made by the present writer in the first Lecture that this peculiar god was nothing but a combination of the iconographic types of a Yaksha and a Nāga be accepted, then there can be no doubt about the antiquity of his constituents. There is no mention of him in any of the Gupta inscriptions. Varāhamihira in his enumeration of the Paurāṇic sects does not include the name of the Gāṇapatyas, which came to denote a band of exclusive worshippers of Gaṇapati. In the chapter on Pratimālakshaṇa in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* the iconographic description of the god occurs last in one or two manuscripts, and it was regarded by Kern as an interpolation. Kern did not include it in his edition of the *Bṛihaṁhitā* on account of its suspect nature. The *Mahābhārata* story about Gaṇeśa having served as the amenuensis of Vyāsa while the sage was composing the Great Epic has been unanimously accepted as a late interpolation. All this led R. G. Bhandarkar to come to the conclusion that the exclusive worship of Gaṇeśa son of Durgā did not originate even in the Gupta period.

ANTECEDENTS OF GAṆAPATI-GAṆEŚA

The name Gaṇapati alone occurring in some Saṁhitā texts would not justify one in finding there any allusion to the Paurāṇic Gaṇeśa. The *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* (23, 19) invokes the Gaṇapati of the Gaṇas (*Gaṇānāṁ tvā Gaṇapatiṁ havāmahe*), and the same passage even occurs in an earlier Ṛigvedic verse (II. 23, 1). But this Gaṇapati was another name of the Vedic god Bṛihaspati or Brahmaṇaspati, and should not be confused with the Paurānic Gaṇapati. But a wilful confusion seems to have been made much later, which might have been at the root of the apocryphal legend about Gaṇeśa serving as the amenuensis of Vyāsa. Paurāṇic mythology asserts the association of Gaṇeśa with Śiva and Pārvatī, he being regarded as their son. He was also assigned the leadership of the impish attendants (Gaṇas or Pramathas) of Rudra-Śiva. In the *Atharvaśiras Upanishad* mention is made of Vināyaka among the many gods or spirits with whom Rudra is identified, and Vināyaka is one of the names of Gaṇeśa in the Purāṇas. In the Anuśāsana-parva of the *Mahābhārata*, Gaṇeśvaras and Vināyakas are described along with other gods as the lords of all the world (*Īśvarāḥ sarvalokānāṁ Gaṇeśvara-Vināyakāḥ*, Ch. 150, v. 25), and, properly propitiated, they remove all obstacles from the path of men. Four Vināyakas are named as Sālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kushmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana in the *Mānavagṛihyasūtra* (II. 14) ; men possessed by them are faced with all sorts of evils and frustrations. Many purificatory ceremonies are enjoined to be performed for getting rid of their influence, and attaining success in undertakings. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* gives us a developed and completed account of the same ceremonies clearly asserting that Rudra appointed one Vināyaka with six different aspects or forms (Mita, Sammita, Sāla, Kaṭaṅkaṭa, Usmita and Devayajana) as the leader of his Gaṇas, and that Ambikā was the mother of Vināyaka-Ambikāputra. R. G. Brandarkar rightly says that "in his own nature, this last god is an unfriendly or malignant spirit, but capable of being made friendly and benignant by propitiatory rites, resembling his father Rudra in this respect" (*op. cit.*, p. 148). The different Purāṇas like *Śiva, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Brahmavaivartta*, etc., and the Āgamas like the *Suprabhedāgama* give different accounts of the origin of Gaṇapati-Vighneśvara, and T. A. Gopinatha Rao after summarising the confusing accounts observes 'Ganeśa who is the same as Vighneśvara is considered to have been born solely to Śiva, solely to Pārvatī, and to both Śiva and Pārvati and also held to be Kṛishṇa in another form'.[37] In the Svargavarg-ādhyāya of the *Amarokosha* usually assigned to the late Gupta period, the synonyms of Gaṇapati-Vināyaka are put down in this way—

Vināyaka-Vighnarāja-Dvaimātura-Gaṇādhipāḥ |
Apyekadanta-Heramba-Lambodara-Gajānanāḥ ||

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

It is likely that the worship of the god of a peculiar iconography came into being in the late Gupta period, though it took some time to gain a measure of popularity. One of the earliest sculptures representing a nude figure of Gaṇeśa in the spotted red sandstone of Mathura has been reproduced by Alice Getty in her *Gaṇeśa*; it has been tentatively dated in the 4th century A.D. The terracotta plaque representing a flying Gaṇeśa with a pot of sweetmeants in one of his hands found on the wall of the Gupta brick temple at Bhitargaon proves that the iconography of this peculiar deity was known. But these two do not necessarily establish that the cult had already made its full appearance; they may stand for the Gaṇas in general. But in the late Gupta or early post-Gupta period, it must have come into existence. The earliest cult-image of Gaṇapati so far known is found is a niche of the Bhumārā Śiva temple dated the 6th century A.D. by which time the cult might have been systematised to some extent. This suggestion is substantiated by the fact that a standing figure of the two-armed Gaṇapati with his trunk applied to the pot of sweetmeats held in his hand was found at Myson in far off Cambodia, and it is usually dated in the 7th century A.D. The Tāntric aspect of the deity was known even in Java in the early medieval period. In a place called Bara there was found the figure of Gaṇeśa seated on a row of skulls with skulls embedded in his matted locks (*jaṭā*). The association of success in business enterprise with the worship of Gaṇeśa was already well-established in India by the middle of the 9th century A.D. This is proved by a very interesting inscribed pillar found at Ghatiyala (Jodhpur, Rājasthān) bearing the date V.S. 918 (862 A.D.). The inscription on the pillar, on the top of which are placed four addorsed Gaṇapati figures facing the 4 quarters and serving as its capital, records that it was erected at one end of a market at a place called Rohinsakūpa to commemorate its establishment by the Pratihāra king Kakkuka. Two or three more inscriptions found at Ghatiyala record the same fact as also the erection of a pillar at Maḍḍodara (Mandor, Jodhpur) by the king. One of them expressly mentions that the Ābhīras used to infest Rohinsakūpa, and Kakkuka after removing this obstacle established there a centre of trade.[38] This emphasises the characteristic trait of the god as the remover of obstacles.[39]

LITERARY DATA

There are no early literary data about the existence of the Gāṇapatyas, though in some texts of a comparatively late date the sect is included in the list of the Pañcha-pūjā. One has to cull some information about it and its six sub-divisions from Anantānandagiri's *Śaṅkaradigvijaya-kāvya,* from its commentary called *Diṇḍima* by Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya and Dhanapati. These are texts of the late medieval period, and purport to give in this context the details about the encounter of leaders of six subdivisions of the Gāṇapatyas with the great monist teacher Śaṅkarāchārya. The names of the latter are Mahā-, Haridrā-, Uchchhishṭa-, Navanīta-, Svarṇa-, and Santāna-Gaṇapatis led respectively by Girijāsuta, Gaṇapatikumāra, Herambasuta and three others. Śaṅkarāchārya met them one after another at a place called Gaṇavara on the bank of the river Kaumudī, and defeated each in argument and brought them to his way of thinking. Before they were successively vanquished, each of them extolled the greatness of the particular aspect of Gaṇapati he worshipped exclusively and described it as the creator of the Brāhmaṇical triad, endowing them with their respective functions. According to them, Gaṇeśa was the greatest god mentioned even in the Vedic texts, and they recited the Gaṇeśa-gāyatrī as given in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* Book X—*Oṁ Vighnarājāya vidmahe vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi | tan no dantī prachodayāt.* There is no doubt that this was a very late interpolation probably of the late Gupta or post-Gupta age. The description given by Vāmāchāri-Herambasuta of the object of his worship and meditation, Uchchhishṭa-Gaṇapati, is fully Kaula Tāntric in character. This aspect of the god is presented as four-armed, three-eyed, holding a noose, an elephant-goad, a club and *abhayamudrā* (assurance pose) in his 4 hands, the tip of his trunk applied to a pot of strong wine, seated on a *mahāpīṭha* (probably a *pañchamuṇḍī āsana*) and engaged in kissing and embracing his Śakti sitting on his left lap. The left-hand Tāntric worshippers of Uchchhishṭa-Gaṇapati did not obey caste-distinction and observe the various *saṁskāras* like marriage, etc. They drank wine, their sect mark was a red circle on their forehead, and they did not perform daily rites. R. G. Bhandarkar was rightly critical about the authenticity of this elaborate account of the Gāṇapatyas and their six subdivisions existing in the time of Śaṅkarāchārya. The sect was there when Śaṅkara preached his monism; but it is certainly doubtful whether it had attained so much elaboration at that comparatively early date.

CONTINUANCE OF GAṆAPATI WORSHIP

The worship of Gaṇapati continued to exist for centuries afterwards; but it mainly owed its continuance among the believing Hindus to the special trait of his character as the remover of obstacles (*Vighnavināśana*) and the bestower of success (*Siddhidātā*). The Hindu merchants and shopkeepers even now-a-days offer special worship to the god for ensuring success in their business enterprise. The Ghatiyala stone pillar inscription referred to above shows how this belief was current even in the early medieval period. He is still propitiated first by the family priest in a Hindu household in times of the performance of Naimittika-Karmas (occasional religious rites) and Saṁskāras, before the main ceremony is begun. The *mantra* uttered by the priest on these occasions is *Oṁ Gaṇeśādipañchadevatābhyo namaḥ* (Om. Salutation to the five *devatās* with Gaṇeśa in the forefront). But this was the main characteristic of the Smārta-Pañchopāsakas who, unless properly initiated into a particular major Paurāṇic cult like Vaishṇava, Śaiva or Śākta, was a believer in each as an individual manifestation of the one supreme lord, the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. They had cherished this syncretic belief from hoary antiquity, and Gaṇapati worship was only one late facet of their kaleidoscopic belief. The success-bestower god was not only honoured much in medieval Paurāṇic Hinduism in this country, but was given a sort of recognition by the followers of non-Paurāṇic creeds here like the Buddhists and even honoured in some countries of South-East Asia.

REFERENCES

1. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1927-28, p. 66.
2. E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilisation*, 2nd ed., p. 54.
3. J. Marshall, *M.I.C.*, Vol. I, p. 52, Pl. xii, fig. 12; M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, p. 42; Vol. II, Pl. xciii, fig. 304.
4. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* verses read—
   Tatohamakhilaṁ lokamātmadehasamudbhavaiḥ |
   Bharishyāmi surāḥ śākairāvṛishṭeḥ prāṇadhārakaiḥ |
   Śākambharīti vikhyātiṁ tadā yāsyāmyahaṁ bhuvi ||
5. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 124.
6. Sāyaṇa, while commenting on the stanza of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* quoted above, refers to this passage of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and says that Ambikā assuming the form of autumn destroys beings through fever and other (autumnal) diseases.
7. W. H. Schoff's trans., Section 58, p. 46.
8. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-44. He picks out three main forms of the one goddess based on these different aspects of her: (1) the ordinary bland form, (2) the fierce form, and (3) the sensual form. But the sensual form of the Devī is not emphasised at all in the epic *Durgā-stutis*. In the second form she is also associated with the *atimārgika* Śaiva schools.
9. R. G. Bhandarkar did not emphasise this feature of the three epic *Devī-stutis* noticed by me here. They undoubtedly refer to the non-Aryan strand in the formation of the concept of the composite goddess; but they are silent about the other aspect of the Tāntric ritualism of Śakti-worship.
10. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 221-22.
11. If my interpretation of the word Bhīshaṇa (Bhīshaṇā) in a *Mahāmāyūrī passage* (*Śivaḥ Śivapurāhāre Śivabhadraścha Bhīshaṇe* verse 28 of the Mahāyāna Buddhist text) is accepted, then we may trace back the existence of Bhīmāsthāna before the fourth century A.D.; cf. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 751-53.
12. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XIV (*The Śākta Pīṭhas* by D. C. Sircar, pp. 1-108). The manuscript is an adjunct to the bigger Śākta work *Tantrachūḍāmaṇi*.

13. R. P. Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 132. The nine plants are *rambā* (plantain), *kacvī* (arum colocasia), *haridrā* (turmeric), *jayantī* (barley), *bilva* (wood-apple), *dārima* (pomegranate), *aśoka*, *māna*, and *dhānya* (paddy). The *Puraścharyārṇava*, Part III (pp. 1034-35, Banaras) names their respective presiding deities as Brahmāṇī, Kālikā, Durgā; Kārttikī, Ṣivā, Raktadantikā, Ṣokarahitā Chāmuṇḍā and Lakshmī.

14. See Pargiter's trans., p. 486. The original reads—

Kenopamā bhavatu te'sya parākramasya
rūpañcha śatrubhayakāryatihāri kutra |
Chitte kṛipā samaranishṭhuratā cha dṛishṭā
tvayyeva devi varade bhuvanatraye'pi ||

15. The *Bhavishya Purāṇa* description of Nava-Durgā is quoted by T. A. Gopinatha Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Appendix C, pp. 114-15.

16. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 76-78.

17. For Bagchi's suggestion, see *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 8; for Das Gupta's view, see *Bhārater Ṣākti Sādhanā O Ṣākta Sāhitya* (in Bengali), p. 13.

18. Whitney, *Atharva Veda* (*Ṣaunakīya Saṁhitā*), XI. 2, 31—*Namaste Ghoshiṇībhyo namaste Keśinībhyaḥ.* The screaming female attendants of the dire god are mentioned here by name, and they possibly were at the base of the *ḍākinī* concept of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

19. I am indebted to Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma for drawing my attention to the special features of the Chaurasi Vārāhī shrine, which I visited in his company. He also kindly showed me the two manuscripts of the *Kaulachudāmaṇi* and *Vārāhī Tantras* which are in his possession. The first should be properly edited. Mrs. Devala Mitra who visited the Chaurasi temple and gave a correct description of its various features in her article on 'Four Khākharā Temples in Orissa' (*JAS*, 1960) did not notice the eight erotic reliefs on the temple-walls.

20. The verse reads—

Gachcha tvaṁ bhārate varshe'dhikārāya hi sarvataḥ |
Pīṭhopapīṭhakshetreshu kuru sṛishṭiranekadhā ||

(*Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, pp. xiv, lxxviii-lxxix).

21. *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad,* II. 5. This corresponds to the *trisandhyā,* the morning, midday and twilight adorations of a Brāhmaṇa. The respective *mantras* are—*Vargo'si pāpmānaṁ me vṛindhi* ('Thou art the destroyer of sins, destroy my sins'); *Udvargo'si pāpmānaṁ me udvṛiṅghi, Saṁvargo'si pāpmānaṁ me saṁvṛindhi.*

22. This has been differently rendered into English. The following is based on the Bengali rendering by Satyavata Samasrami: 'We meditate on the honoured effulgence of the sun-god, which may influence us in the performance of our duties'.

23. Ānandagiri, *Śaṁkaravijaya,* ed. Jaynarain Tarkapanchanan in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Asiatic Society, pp. 94-96.

24. D. K. Biswas has suggested that Varāhamihira was himself a Maga Brāhmaṇa settled in India (*I.H.Q.,* 1949, pp. 175-83).

25. Watters, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 254.

26. Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* pp. 116, 184 and 21. The *Varāha Purāṇa* refers to the installation of a sun image, Sāmbāditya by name, which was also called Sāmbapūr (Ch. 177).

27. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā,* Ch. II on Saṁvatsarasūtra, v. 13—

    Granthataśchārthataśchaitat kṛitsnaṁ jānāti yo dvijaḥ |
    Agrabhuk sa bhavechchhrāddhe pūjitaḥ paṅktipāvanaḥ ||

    But there is no doubt that in course of time the Bhojaka, Daivajña and Agradānī Brāhmaṇas were relegated to a very inferior social position.

28. *ASWI,* New Imperial Series. Vol. IX—*Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat;* H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat,* pp. 212-14.

29. The *Brahma Purāṇa* contains a reference to this temple in Chapter XXVIII on Koṇādityamāhātmyavarṇana.

30. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, p. 333.

31. *Indian Antiquary,* 1925 (J. N. Banerjea on 'The Representation of Sūrya in Brāhmaṇical Art').

32. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. I, p. 300.

32a. D. C. Sircar has just drawn my attention to several other medieval temples of the Sun-god, e.g., at Bhilsa, Pushkara and Gayā, the first of which enjoyed exceptional celebrity. See Sircar's papers in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXX, pp. 210-19; Vol. XXXV, pp. 89, 92, 245.

33. For Huvishka's coin devices, see P. Gardner, *B.M.Cat.*, pp. 138, 149, 150, Pls. XXVII, 16 ; Pls. XXVIII, 23-24.

34. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1929-30, pp. 132-33, Pl. XXXI. There is an inscription on the pillar fragment in 2nd century A.D. Brāhmī characters ; it reads *Kumāravara*..........

35. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, 32, 4-5. The verses read—

> *Tato babhudhanaṁ ramyaṁ gavāḍhyaṁ dhanadhāṅyavāt* |
> *Kārttikeyasya dayitaṁ Rohitakamupādravat* |
> *Tatra yuddhaṁ mahachchāsīt śūrairmattamayūrakaiḥ* ||

Rohitaka is modern Rohtak (East Punjab), where Birbal Sahni discovered a large number of Yaudheya coin moulds.

36. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 44-45. Bilsad is in the Etah district (U.P.) and is about 140 miles to the south-east of Rohtak.

37. Rao, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 35-46.

38. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.

39. D. C. Sircar has just drawn my attention to the Vināyaka image in the Kabul Museum, bearing an inscription which he edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 44ff.

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